

HISTORY

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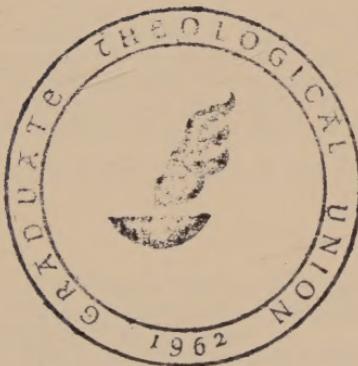
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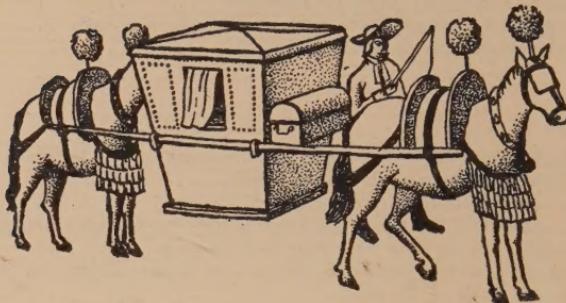
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HAMPTON COURT CONFERENCE

AND ITS AFTERMATH*

MARK H. CURTIS
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OVER THE YEARS two interpretations of the Hampton Court Conference have come down to us. They are similar in holding that except for the authorization of a new translation of the Bible little of consequence was accomplished there. They both attribute to the Conference a deterioration in the relations between the religious parties of the time. Both also blame James I for being instrumental in causing this unhappy turn of events. Here, however, agreement between them stops. One interpretation, for which Gardiner is still the chief authority, assumes that at the Conference James had an opportunity to make a reconciliation between the Puritans and the established Church. Instead, because of his pedantry and his prejudices, 'he had sealed his own fate and the fate of England for ever. The trial had come, and he had broken down. . . . The essential littleness of the man was at once revealed.'¹ The other point of view, for which R. G. Usher is the chief modern spokesman, asserts that James, ignorant of the factional struggles within the Church and yielding egotistically to the temptation to display his theological learning, erred in agreeing to meet the Puritans at all. By acceding to the request of the Millenary Petitioners, he gave the Puritan ministers a status equal to that of the bishops, a concession which Elizabeth I in her wisdom had never granted. He thus created the conditions for future bitterness and frustration, for he induced a hope which he had neither the intention nor the power of fulfilling.²

Despite their differences—which can be readily discounted because they reflect divergent and irreconcilable judgements on the Puritans rather than fundamental disagreements in reading the evidence—these interpretations at first sight appear adequate. The relations of the religious parties soon after the Conference were certainly more acrimonious than they had been before. Furthermore James throughout his reign showed himself a staunch supporter of episcopacy. Yet anyone who probes into the evidence underlying these accounts begins to find

* A paper read to the Anglo-American Historical Conference at the Institute of Historical Research, 1960.

¹ S. R. Gardiner, *History of England, 1603-1642* (London, 1883), i. 157.

² R. G. Usher, *The Reconstruction of the English Church* (New York and London, 1910), i. 310-12.

flaws in them. For one thing he learns that they both depend heavily on one source and neglect others, presumably unknown to Gardiner and disregarded though known by Usher. He also discovers that the context of events and circumstances of which the Conference was a part was in important respects more complicated than either Gardiner or Usher assumed. Finally he becomes aware that even the source from which they drew their story suggests—or perhaps implies is a better word—that the Conference accomplished more than they said it did. For all these reasons a re-examination of the Conference and its immediate consequences has seemed worthwhile.

The description of the Conference upon which Gardiner and Usher built their interpretations is William Barlow's tract *The Summe and Substance of the Conference*.³ Gardiner, to be sure, had some reservations about putting so much stock on this piece of evidence. But he stilled them by arguing that 'if he [Barlow] had introduced any actual misrepresentation, we should certainly have had a more correct account from the other side'.⁴ In making this point Gardiner overlooked two things: first that Barlow's report was published some months after the Conference and was intended in part to refute other accounts which had been circulating since the Conference; and second that the authority to license publications lay in the hands of the bishops who would not use it to give comfort to their Puritan opponents.⁵ Usher, who unearthed and published a manuscript containing another full account of the Conference, gave quite another kind of reason for taking Barlow as his guide. After noting the moderateness and fairness of the document unknown to Gardiner, he set it to one side with these words: 'Still it is anonymous and therefore never can claim a greater authority than Barlow's official statement.'⁶ Such a naïve argument only deepens rather than allays the suspicion aroused by Gardiner. It increases rather than diminishes the importance of the question: how reliable is Barlow's account?

William Barlow, dean of Chester, had been a delegate to the Hampton Court Conference. A few weeks after its close he was commissioned by Bancroft to compile from his own notes and those of other conferees an account of the proceedings which could be published. The result was *The Summe and Substance of the Conference* which he had finished writing by May 1604 but which did not come from the press until August.⁷ As can be seen, his position and resources gave him full opportunity to produce a work that would satisfy most of the canons of

³ London, 1604.

⁴ Gardiner, i. 155 n. 1.

⁵ As noted below, Barlow's *Summe and Substance* first appeared in August 1604. In the preface Barlow justified his work by noting that many other accounts, 'some partial, some untrue, some slanderous', were circulating in the realm; Barlow, *Summe and Substance*, reprinted in Edward Cardwell, *A History of Conferences . . .* (3rd edn., Oxford, 1849), p. 169.

⁶ Usher, i. 318 n. 1.

⁷ In requesting Cecil to accept the dedication of the book, Barlow noted in a letter dated 12 May 1604 that it was then ready for the press. In August he wrote that it was ready to come from the press. Hist. MSS. Comm., *Calendar of the Manuscripts of . . . the Marquess of Salisbury*, pt. xvi, pp. 95, 242.

criticism. Yet it falls short of any such mark. Instead it is a skilful piece of party propaganda. Significantly Sir Robert Cecil avoided having it dedicated to him.⁸ Bancroft's chief purpose in sponsoring it can be deduced from the timing of its publication. As he must have foreseen, it appeared after the adjournment of parliament and convocation. Under those circumstances its value lay in providing an argument for compliance with Bancroft's own scheme of ecclesiastical reform as that had been embodied during the summer in the Canons of 1604. *The Summe and Substance* served this purpose by showing that the Puritan alternative had not only been futile but weak, ill-considered, and poorly grounded. It garbled the Puritan case and made it appear confused. It glossed over or passed off as insignificant those points about which James and the Puritans came to an understanding. It rarely missed an opportunity to report at length and with circumstantial detail all the disagreements between the king and the Puritan representatives. On the other hand it consistently played down any differences between James and the bishops. In the end it leaves the lasting impression that the Conference was really quite unnecessary, that the Puritans were bemused if not silly men, that the king and the bishops were in full accord, and that the king had for all practical purposes ended the Conference on an angry note.⁹

Although Barlow's *Summe and Substance* supplies some details which can be accepted, a reliable account of the Conference can only be reconstructed from various other pieces of evidence. These can be conveniently divided into three categories: first come those letters, memoranda, and other documents which give information about the objectives and plans of the various participants in the Conference, including the king; secondly there are the several different accounts of what happened at the Conference, among which the detailed anonymous report uncovered by Usher is the most important; and thirdly, there are the notes and reports on what was decided at the Conference and what measures were contemplated as a follow-up to it. Of the last group some now to be found among the State Papers Domestic have the character of *aides memoire* drafted for the use of the privy councillors and the bishops. The best guide through this whole body of material is the neglected anonymous account. At all important points it is consistent with the rest of the evidence. Furthermore it preserves the earthiness of James's language, something that Barlow censored.

The reconstruction of the Hampton Court Conference from these sources must be prefaced with a review of certain developments preceding it. Such an opening to the story is necessary because excessive dependence on Barlow's account has heretofore forced historians

⁸ Barlow complained in August that he had been refused access to Cecil since he had in May first requested Cecil's permission to dedicate the book to him. Therefore he had never been able to show Cecil the work which he had insisted on seeing before he became its patron. Consequently it had to appear without a dedication; *ibid.*, p. 242.

⁹ Evidence substantiating most of these points is cited in notes 25-9 and 31-7 below.

consciously or unconsciously to accept many of his presuppositions concerning these matters. Thus Usher, whose prejudices predisposed him to Barlow's attitudes, underestimated both the strength and influence of the Puritans and the effect of other pressures which were creating a demand for some formal settlement of religious questions. And thus Gardiner, though his critical sense kept him from Usher's pit-fall, believed with Barlow that before the Conference the bishops had succeeded in convincing James that the Puritan complaints were factious and had converted him to their own policy. Both these positions misrepresent important aspects of the situation before the Conference and must be corrected in order to appreciate the importance of the Conference and to get an understanding of what went on there.

It is well known that the Millenary Petition contained a request for a conference on the religious grievances of the Puritans and that the Hampton Court Conference resulted from James's favourable response to it. What is less frequently pointed out is that precedents from the past as well as circumstances of the moment made it desirable to settle religious questions by some solemn act of state. Since Henry VIII's break with Rome, every one of James's predecessors had used the powers of the supreme head or governor of the Church to establish the religious foundations of his or her reign. Even Mary Tudor, who detested the title and office of supreme head, could not restore the authority of the papacy without exercising the powers which went with it. James I, faced with religious problems which were in many important respects similar in character to those at the accession of Edward VI, felt the full force of precedent. He knew that precedent demanded that a new king not only reconsider fundamental political questions like the war with Spain and the relations between his several kingdoms but also the religious state of his recent inheritance. It was force of precedent that gave life and reality to rumours like one which a diarist derisively recorded on 10 April 1603:

There is a foolish rime runnes vp and downe in the court, of Sir H[enry] Bromley, L[ord] Tho[mas] Howard, L[ord] Cobham, and the Deane of Canterbury, Dr. Nevil, that each should goe to move the K[ing] for what they like:

Nevil for ye protestant: L[ord] Thomas for the papist;
Bromley for the Puritane: L[ord] Cobham for ye atheist.¹⁰

Force of precedent also magnified the importance of the other factors in the religious situation. Puritanism—once damped down but now again on the rise, pluralism and non-residence, the economic problems of the Church, and the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts were all issues that gained urgency from the influence of precedent on men's minds. To the whole mixture doubt about James's religious position added a disquieting dash of anxiety.

¹⁰ Brit. Mus., MS. Harleian 5353, fo. 126.

Gardiner was aware that these factors made something like the Hampton Court Conference imperative, but he and others who have followed him have gone astray in ignoring evidence that James and the bishops had separate views on ecclesiastical questions.¹¹ One sign of this state of affairs is to be found in the fact that the decision to settle the problems of the Church by holding a Conference had been made by the king, at the suggestion of the Puritans, but without the blessing of the bishops. In other words James I had on his own volition chosen to highlight particular problems in selecting this approach to a religious settlement. The most striking proof of the differences between the bishops and the king is contained in the original draft of the proclamation issued on 24 October 1603 to postpone the Conference from 1 November to the middle of January.¹² Heretofore estimates of James's religious policy based upon the printed version of this document have over-emphasized those portions denouncing preaching and other behaviour which would encourage contempt of established ecclesiastical authority. Viewed in their proper perspective, these passages mean little more than similar clauses in the proclamation on religion which Elizabeth promulgated before the meeting of her first parliament.¹³ Both monarchs wanted to maintain control of such religious changes as were to be made. Neither could afford to allow freedom of discussion or action on such matters, for freedom might degenerate into licence and become a threat to the peace and stability of the realm. An examination of the original draft, on the other hand, shifts one's attention away from these sections to others in which James firmly asserted that there might be need to reform—or to use his phrase—to redeem the Church from notorious scandals.

The first version of this original draft, written in a good secretarial hand, was probably drawn up for the king's approval by Whitgift and Bancroft. If this had been published as the final proclamation, the Puritans would have had good reason to have withdrawn from the Conference. It prejudged every question that they wanted to discuss. To have negotiated under such circumstances would have been either an exercise in futility or a prelude to total capitulation. Significant changes, however, were made before the king approved and signed it. For instance, at one point in the bishops' draft, the Church of England was characterized 'both in the doctrine professed and in the policie [polity] as also in the multitude of able, sufficient and learned Bussbops and ministers, the neerest to the condition of the primitive Church of any other in Christendome'. This extravagant passage was revised to read: 'both the Constitution and doctryne therof [i.e. of the Church] is

¹¹ Gardiner credits James with trying, though unsuccessfully, to act as an impartial moderator between the two parties at the Conference. He does not attribute to him an independent point of view which gave him a position different from both groups. Gardiner, i. 155-7.

¹² Public Record Office, S.P. 14/4, no. 29. (Subsequent S.P. references are to the Public Record Office.)

¹³ John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, I. ii. 391-2.

agreeable to Gods word and neere to the condition of the primitive Church'.¹⁴ Such a statement, though it might raise opposition from extremists among the Puritans, was acceptable to the moderates who were then in control of the movement. It had the additional advantage of leaving the state of the Church open for discussion. The revision of another passage was even more significant. The drafters of the original version, making an obeisance to the king's decision to confer with the Puritans, used a contemporary platitude to acknowledge that there might be a need, slight though it was, to consider remedies for abuses which had crept into the perfect state of the Church. They wrote: '... experience doth shew daylie that Politike bodies as well as naturall haue their corruptions continually although vnsensibly growing into them'. This passage was changed from a hackneyed metaphor into a pointed criticism of the bishops and their government. It was made to read: '... experience doth shew daylie that the Church militant is never so well constituted in anie forme of policy [polity] but that the imperfections of men who haue the exercise therof doe with tyme though vnsensibly bring in some corruptions'.¹⁵

James's ecclesiastical policy which stood behind these changes had three strands. First of all he wanted to improve and extend the preaching ministry of the Church. Among the first acts which he took in the summer of 1603 was one of sending letters to Oxford and Cambridge informing them that he intended to return the revenues from impropriated tithes in his hands to the use of the Church. He hoped by such a move to improve the provisions within the Church for 'learned and painful preachers'. He invited the universities and colleges to join him in this noble work.¹⁶ Even though Archbishop Whitgift, before the letters were dispatched, warned him against this measure, he persisted in his proposal.¹⁷ As late as 29 October, he informed the two archbishops that he would not be content until all vicarages whose impropriated tithes he held should have sufficient means to maintain qualified ministers and preachers.¹⁸ In the words of Patrick Galloway, his Scottish chaplain, James was determined 'to haue a resident Moyses in euerye parishe'.¹⁹ He stood therefore against pluralities and non-residence as well as against dilapidations of clerical revenues. The second strand in James's policy was a desire to reform the administration of ecclesiastical justice. Here perhaps James was reflecting the thinking of some of his Councillors more than his own. In any event he

¹⁴ S.P. 14/4, no. 29, fo. 2.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Draft of royal letters to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, endorsed 8 July 1603; S.P. 14/2, nos. 37, 38. For copies of these letters, bearing the date 10 July 1603, see Brit. Mus., MS. Harl. 677, fo. 79 and MS. Sloane 1856, fos. 36v-37.

¹⁷ Whitgift on 9 July 1603 sent the king a plea that he would 'make stay of any suche proceeding, vntill oportunite may serve mee to attend vpon You'. He enclosed with this letter a lengthy argument to prove that it would be unwise to alter the impropriations belonging to the universities. S.P. 14/2, nos. 39, 391.

¹⁸ S.P. 14/4, no. 33. Other copies: Brit. Mus., MS. Sl. 2877, fo. 172v and MS. Sl. 271, fo. 24.

¹⁹ Brit. Mus., MS. Sl. 271, fos. 23-23v.

espoused in the midst of the Conference measures which would have modified the jurisdiction of vicars-general, chancellors, and commissaries and would have limited the use of excommunication in the enforcement of ecclesiastical discipline.²⁰ Finally, and most important of all, was James's ardent hope of strengthening the unity of the Church. He repeatedly expressed the conviction, which he held in common with most of his people, that the surest foundation for concord and peace in the realm was unity in religion. His feeling of urgency about this matter made him willing to allow some concessions to the Puritans in hope that they would henceforth join wholeheartedly with the hierarchy in support of the Stuart régime and in the struggle against the remnants of the Roman Church.

Such an outline of James's policy quickly reveals his differences with the other parties. He was readier than the bishops to acknowledge that the abuses in the Church were serious matters demanding immediate remedies. He was consequently more willing than they to make concessions to the Puritans. On the other hand he did not see eye to eye with the Puritans. He would draw the line defining the limits of necessary changes much sooner than they. On the question of unity he more than they—i.e. more than men out of power—thought in terms of uniformity of practice rather than merely in terms of agreement on fundamental doctrines and articles of faith.

If in the application of his policy James had strictly followed the precedents of earlier reigns, he would have ordered a general visitation and then issued injunctions on the basis of its findings. Among both the Puritans and the defenders of the Elizabethan settlement there were men who on the one hand expected and on the other feared such a procedure. One unknown Puritan drafted an elaborate plan for a general visitation of the Church and tried to sell it to the king by asserting that by this means James could not only abolish evils and abuses but also 'rayse verry greate sums'.²¹ Whitgift and Bancroft feared the likelihood that the king would adopt some such scheme. On 24 September 1603 they wrote a long letter to Cecil on the manœuvres of their opponents. They ended by arguing that under the circumstances a general visitation was ill-advised. It would, they said, be 'as pestilent a devise as any of the rest' and would only end in staining a Church 'so notablie reformed'.²² There is no indication, however, that James ever seriously considered conducting a royal visitation. By the time of the bishops' letter to Cecil, plans for the Conference were far advanced. In August the Council had sent letters to summon the conferees. They instructed both representatives selected from among the Puritan ministers and members of the hierarchy 'to repaire to the Courte the first of

²⁰ 'Anonymous Account of the Hampton Court Conference', printed in Usher, *Reconstruction*, ii. 341–54. Another copy, differing slightly from this one, can be found in Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 38492, fos. 82–85. Hereafter I shall usually cite only the version printed by Usher. Cf. *Summe and Substance*, in Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 171.

²¹ S.P. 14/11, no. 36.

²² S.P. 14/3, no. 83.

November next'.²³ Also by August the Puritans had gone a long way in formulating their case. They had tentatively agreed to organize it under three heads:

1. Whether it be lawfull to haue an ignorant nonresident pluralitane ministerye.
2. Whether it be lawfull for laicks, as Chauncelers, Commissaries, etc. to manage the Discipline of the Church.
3. Whether subscription to be vrged, comprehendinge all the faults of the Liturgie.²⁴

The Hampton Court Conference, after having been postponed because of an outbreak of the plague in the autumn of 1603, began on Saturday, 14 January 1604 and consisted of three all-day sessions: one on the opening day restricted to the king, the Council, and the members of the hierarchy; another on Monday 16 January in which the Puritan representatives, led by Dr. John Rainolds of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and only two bishops, Bancroft and Thomas Bilson, bishop of Winchester, assisted by several of the deans, met with the king and council; and the third, a plenary session, held on Wednesday, 18 January. The differences between the king and the bishops, which Barlow tried to paper over, clearly appeared at the very beginning. James, who had intimated in the revised proclamation of October that he held the bishops responsible for many of the abuses in the Church, treated them in the intimacy of the Privy Chamber as if they were on trial. After an oration in which he explained his purpose in calling the Conference, he charged the bishops to tell him what in the Church needed reform. Whitgift and Bancroft, instead of giving him a direct answer, fell on their knees and begged him to preserve the Church from any alteration in government and liturgy. They urged that to make changes after forty years would give both the Papists and the Puritans grounds for complaining that they had been wrongfully oppressed in the past. James dismissed their plea with a homely phrase: 'It was no reason that because a man had ben sick of the poxe 40 yeares, therefore he shouold not be cured at length.' Then he himself called into question several matters concerning the Book of Common Prayer, the proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts, and the condition of the clergy.²⁵ On at least two occasions during the four hours of argument that then ensued members of the Privy Council supported James in his case. Once when the bishops denied that the Book of Common Prayer permitted baptism by women, James, calling for a copy of the prayer book,

²³ S.P. 14/3, no. 48. This is a memorandum designating which clerks would be responsible for drafting the letters to the various delegates.

²⁴ Brit. Mus., MS. Sl. 271, fo. 21v. See also Add. MS. 38492, fo. 99 and MS. Egerton 2884, fo. 8.

²⁵ 'Anon. Account', in Usher, ii, 341-2. Usher misread the manuscript from which he took this account and transcribed 'pope' for 'poxe'. Barlow's account fails to mention the king's inquiry about what reform was needed in the Church and the bishops' response thereto.

asked the councillors to interpret it for him. Only after they corroborated his position did the bishops and their assistants try to justify the practice.²⁶ In the end the bishops somewhat reluctantly yielded to the king's wishes. They did not, however, depart until they had made one last attempt to bring the Conference to an abrupt halt. They pleaded with James not to give a hearing to the charges which the Puritan ministers might bring against them. Again the king denied their earnest petitions.²⁷

On the last two days of the Conference, although James did not embarrass the bishops before the Puritans, he still showed his independence of them. He rebuked Bancroft for discourteously and high-handedly interrupting Rainolds after he had just begun to present the Puritan case.²⁸ Later Bancroft tried to divert the king from coming to an understanding with Rainolds on the question of pluralities and non-residence by getting him to support the position that a praying clergy was more important than a preaching clergy. James, rather than agree to that proposition, asserted that ministers must preach in order to teach the people how to pray. Shifting his ground slightly, Bancroft then asked that additions be made to the Book of Homilies. Again James refused to follow his lead and said that he meant 'to plant preachers'.²⁹ To the last he remained consistent in his relations with the bishops. In making his plea for unity at the final plenary session, the king not only enjoined the Puritans to be dutiful to the bishops but commanded the bishops to treat the Puritan ministers with consideration 'and more gently then euer they had don before'.³⁰

To see James I as independent of the bishops puts his relations with the Puritans in a new perspective. Contrary to what is generally believed, he did not deny out of hand everything proposed by Rainolds. On some points he acknowledged the soundness of the Puritan complaints and made concessions to the Puritan cause. Besides agreeing with them on the need to eliminate non-residence, to improve the quality of the clergy, and to plant a preaching ministry throughout his realms, he gave his approval to suggestions that the catechism be perfected, that the excessive use of excommunication be regulated, that the importation of popish books be strictly controlled, and that certain changes be made in the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer.³¹ On other issues he met them half way. For instance he said that he would take under advisement the possibility of modifying the Articles of

²⁶ 'Anon. Account', in Usher, ii. 342. Cf. *Summe and Substance*, in Cardwell, pp. 174-5.

²⁷ 'Anon. Account', in Usher, ii. 343.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 344. Cf. *Summe and Substance*, in Cardwell, pp. 179-80.

²⁹ 'Anon. Account', in Usher, ii. 347. Cf. *Summe and Substance*, in Cardwell, pp. 191-2. With respect to the question of homilies, the variant version of the 'Anonymous Account' differs significantly from that in Usher. It reads: '2. he mooved that his Matie wold appoint more homelies to be made & read in the Church whereto said the Ks Matie we meane to plant preachers, & therfore we neede not appoint homelies: whereto the B. subioyned that it were good such were till preachers were gotten.' Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 38492, fo. 83v.

³⁰ 'Anon. Account', in Usher, ii. 353.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 343-52.

Religion so that they would include the nine Lambeth Articles.³² In discussing a matter concerning the Book of Common Prayer, he again clearly showed this attitude. Although he would not allow the authority to confirm to be transferred from the bishops to the parish ministers, he would permit a change in the words used to describe the order of confirmation.³³

The discussion on this last issue provides a clue to the limits of concord between James and the Puritans. To allow a change in the rubric which would eliminate the chance of interpreting confirmation either as a sacrament or as a necessary supplement to the sacrament of baptism was to make the kind of correction which James had from the beginning been prepared to adopt. But to concede that the parish clergy rather than the bishops should have the authority to confirm children would have, as James put it, 'tended to make euery one in his cure to be Bishop'.³⁴ In other words while James went a long way with the Puritans, he parted company with them on any matter which without warrant in Scripture touched the basic powers of established authority or the fundamental constitution of the Church. Unless they could prove that there was something scripturally in error about the bishops' administration of confirmation, or about the use of the sign of the cross in baptism and the wearing of the surplice, or about episcopacy itself, he would not interfere with the duly authorized ritual or government of the Church. Despite much argument Rainolds and his fellows failed to show that the use of the sign of the cross or the wearing of the surplice was contrary to Scripture. Their most telling objection to them was that they had been put to idolatrous uses in the medieval church and that the retaining of them encouraged idolatry, i.e. popery, in the reformed church. They offered no case at all against episcopacy. Rainolds only proposed that members of the hierarchy from rural deans on up to bishops might take some grave ministers as their assessors and thus bring about some compromise between the episcopal and presbyterian polities. Such a proposal, however, immediately aroused James. He denounced it in words which in one form or another have become familiar through frequent repetition. Seeing the shades of Scottish presbyteries drawing round him, he exclaimed: 'I will thinke of this matter 7 yeaeres before I resolute to admitte of a presiberty, and by that time happily I maye waxe fat and if then I thinke it behouefull for me to haue any to stirr me up and awaken me, I will then haue a presiberty by me.'³⁵

³² 'Anon Account', in Usher, pp. 344-5. Cf. *Summe and Substance*, in Cardwell, pp. 185-6. Barlow's account, which suggests that nothing came of this discussion of the Lambeth Articles, does not on this point square with the memoranda of matters agreed upon at the Conference. These memoranda contain an item which reads: 'The articles of religion to be explained & inlarged, & no man to teach or reade against any of them.' S.P. 14/6, nos. 16, 17; cf. *ibid.*, nos. 25, 26.

³³ 'Anon. Account', in Usher, ii. 347-8. Cf. *Summe and Substance*, in Cardwell, pp. 181-4.

³⁴ 'Anon. Account', in Usher, ii. 348.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 351-2. Cf. *Summe and Substance*, in Cardwell, pp. 201-3.

Rainolds' mention of classes and presbyteries had been distasteful to James and had evoked a heated rejoinder. Yet it is doubtful if the discussions of the second day ended, as Barlow reported, on this discordant note. The anonymous account makes it appear that James, rather than leaving the room with a threat on his lips, stayed to decide some other matters in favour of the Puritans and concluded the sitting by alluding again to his intention of placing the best preachers in districts containing a concentration of popish recusants. The substance of this version of the proceedings is corroborated by the description of the Conference which Toby Matthew, bishop of Durham, sent to the archbishop of York. He wrote that at the end of this discussion the king 'favourable dismissed them [the Puritans] for that tyme. . . .' ³⁶ In any event on the third day of the Conference there was no recurrence of such passionate exchanges. After a separate meeting with the bishops to discuss changes in the Book of Common Prayer, the full Conference convened to hear the king's decisions on what changes were to be made and his exhortation on achieving unity through the exercise of charity on one side and obedience on the other. The Puritan conferees agreed to use their good offices to persuade their brethren to conform themselves and Laurence Chaderton, the master of Emmanuel College, gave his word that he would bring his society into line with the practices of the Church. At the very end the king graciously acceded to Chaderton's plea that special treatment be extended to the ministers of Lancashire.³⁷

A final evaluation of the work of the Conference cannot be made without examining the decisions which the king announced on this last day. Little attention has heretofore been given to them. In his speech James 'reduced all the points into certain heads'—four to be exact.³⁸ Of these the first dealt with the changes in the Book of Common Prayer. Some rubrics were to be modified to remove ambiguities inherent in the terms used to refer to parts of the services. Absolution henceforth was to be called 'absolution or general remission of sins'; confirmation would be more strictly defined as 'confirmation, or further examination of the children's faith'; the rubric on baptism would be modified to abolish the administration of private baptism by laymen or women. Other changes in this category would take out of the Calendar of Lessons readings from the Apocrypha which were considered inconsistent with the canonical Scriptures. The second group of changes affected the ecclesiastical courts. The bishops, in ordaining, suspending, degrading, or depriving ministers were not any longer to act alone but were to be assisted by either the dean and chapter or by some grave ministers. The Court of High Commission would be reformed so that no one but 'men

³⁶ 'Anon. Account', in Usher, ii. 352, and John Strype, *The life and acts of John Whitgift* (1822), iii. 402.

³⁷ 'Anon. Account', in Usher, ii. 353. Cf. *Summe and Substance*, in Cardwell, pp. 204 ff.

³⁸ S.P. 14/6, nos. 25, 26. This paragraph is based on these and the following documents: *ibid.*, nos. 16–20. Copies and variant versions of all these memoranda exist in various other collections; for example, Brit. Mus., MS. Eg. 2877, fo. 172; MS. Lansdowne 89, fo. 29; Add. MS. 38139, fo. 24; and MS. Cotton Cleopatra F. II, fo. 120.

of high honour' should be members of the Commission and it would handle only cases of the most serious nature. Then chancellors, officials, and commissaries were to lose their power to excommunicate and would receive instead some other means of enforcing respect and obedience to their orders. The third series of changes concerned preaching and the maintenance of sound doctrine. With respect to preaching these looked to the improvement of parish livings in order to encourage a learned ministry, the regulation of the abuses of pluralities and non-residence, and the planting of preachers in Ireland, Wales, and the Northern Borders. Under the final heading appeared matters such as controls on the importation of popish books from abroad and strict enforcement of the law that all persons receive the Communion once a year at the least. Responsibility for seeing that these changes were worked out in detail and put into force was delegated to six committees made up either of bishops or of bishops and members of the Privy Council.³⁹

A conference whose final report contained so many important decisions and recommendations cannot be called a total failure. Why then has the Hampton Court Conference generally been looked upon as such? Did the worsening of factional struggles within the Church result from the Conference itself or from events which followed upon it—the aftermath of the Conference in the weeks between its close and the convening of James I's first parliament?

Some of the possible answers to these questions can be quickly disposed of. The immediate reactions of the Puritans were mixed but on the whole favourable. Against the lament of a Cambridge don that King James had been the agent for introducing the surplice into Emmanuel College can be set the more sanguine view of a man who held that the success of the Conference was 'but the beginning of reformation; the greater matters were yet to come'.⁴⁰ Although Rainolds and his colleagues had won no concessions on the points which were the chief stumbling blocks for their most conscientious brethren, they had attained several of the Puritan objectives. The results of the Conference therefore seemed to strengthen, at least for the moment, the position and leadership of the moderates among the Puritans.

From the standpoint of the king, the Conference was something of an anti-climax but not a failure. James's reaction, expressed in a letter to Northampton, must be read in the light thrown on it by his character and past experience as well as by the intimacy of his relations with his correspondent. His remarks, which in word and tone are filled with hyperbole, show that as a dialectician he had been disappointed in the Puritans. Compared to the Melvilles and their kind in Scotland, they had appeared tame and tractable, probably because they treated the king and council, if not the bishops, with awe and reverence. Although he had not therefore had full opportunity to display his polemical

³⁹ S.P. 14/6, nos. 18-20; Brit. Mus., MS. Cott. Cleop. F. II, fo. 120.

⁴⁰ M. M. Knappen, *Two Puritan Diaries* (Chicago, 1939), p. 130; Usher, ii. 340.

powers and learning, he could and did take pleasure in the success of the Conference and his part in it.⁴¹

To turn from the Puritans and the king to the bishops leads to a different kind of answer to the questions raised above. The bishops had never thought well of the Conference. They had not wanted it; it had been forced upon them. Indeed Bancroft made it clear that he believed it 'uncanonical' to allow schismatics to be heard against a bishop.⁴² He and Whitgift had therefore done their best both in October and again during the Conference either to make the meeting take place under impossible circumstances or to bring it to a sudden jarring halt. Although in the end they were genuinely relieved that the results had not fundamentally weakened their power—and gave expression to their feeling by fulsome flattery of the king for the wisdom he had shown, they could not be pleased with many of the agreements announced by James. The problem which consequently confronted them was how to overcome the success of the Conference without alienating the king by outright obstructiveness. Fortunately for them most of the trump cards for this game were in their hands. Their principal advantage was that they and not the Puritans were members of the committees appointed to carry out the decisions of the Conference.⁴³ As a consequence they could choose which of those agreements should be brought to fruition and which should be allowed to die on the vine. Even the character of the king was a part of their good fortune. James, full of confidence in his own powers to persuade and make other men see reason—none of which had yet been called into question by altercations with parliament—was the kind of person who felt that his own intervention in a case solved all the difficulties involved and that his pronouncements ended a matter once and for all. The steps needed to put decisions into force were details for lesser persons. The attitude of the Puritans at the Conference had in this particular instance probably confirmed James in this opinion of himself. Consequently, if the bishops satisfied the king by putting into effect the changes in which he had shown the greatest personal interest, they might count on him to overlook the fact that the others had slipped into oblivion.

In achieving their objective, the bishops—i.e. Bancroft and Whitgift—could reduce their difficulties if they could gain acceptance for the opinion that the Conference, so eagerly awaited, had proved to be inconsequential. It can be no surprise therefore that the first pronouncements on the failure of the Conference came from the camp of the bishops. In one form they appeared in the accounts of the Conference which were circulated by the partisans of the bishops. What seems to have been a popular version of these asserted that it contained 'the

⁴¹ James I to Northampton. Henry Ellis, *Original Letters*, 3rd Ser. (London, 1846), iv, 162; see Gardiner, i, 159 n. 1.

⁴² 'Anon. Account', in Usher, ii. 344. Barlow reported Bancroft as quoting the Latin rule: 'Schismatici contra episcopos non sunt audiendi.' *Summe and Substance*, in Cardwell, p. 179.

⁴³ S.P. 14/6, nos. 18-20.

Truthe and nothinge but the truthe' and then summed up the Puritan role at the Conference in these words: 'They had a could pull of yt and are utterly foyled'; and 'Dr. Reynolds and his brethren are utterly condemned for silly men'.⁴⁴ The Puritans of course could and did counter such statements by similar ones on their own behalf. They did not however have accessible to them another means of propaganda available to the bishops. When a proclamation was needed to publish changes in the Book of Common Prayer, Bancroft was instrumental in drafting it.⁴⁵ It contained this description of the proceedings at Hampton Court:

... we cannot conceal that the success of that conference was such as happeneth to many other things which moving great expectation before they be entered into, in their issue produce small effect. For we found mighty and vehement informations supported with so weak and slender proofs, as it appeared unto us and our council that there was no cause why any changes should have been at all in that which was most impugned, the Book of Common Prayer. . . .⁴⁶

Barlow's *Summe and Substance* was only the last and most comprehensive piece of such propaganda.

Belittling the Conference, even in the preamble of a proclamation which was one of its consequences, prepared the way for the bishops to obstruct realization of all but the least offensive of its results. The only agreements which were actually put into effect were some of those on changes in the Book of Common Prayer, the additions to the catechism to explain the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, and the authorization of a new translation of the Bible. Even in their handling of these matters, the bishops did not always follow either the spirit or the letter of the decisions reached at the Conference. For instance, in modifying the rubric on the order of confirmation, they made it read 'confirmation, or laying on of hands' rather than 'confirmation, or further examination of the children's faith'.⁴⁷ What is of even more significance, they managed in the interval between the end of the Conference and the meeting of parliament and convocation to prevent any action at all on the other matters. A report of their proceedings shows that by late February or early March they had not yet made arrangements for the translation of the Bible.⁴⁸ Although they had met to consider the condition of the clergy, they had neither arrived at any

⁴⁴ Usher, ii. 337-8.

⁴⁵ The only material used in preparing this proclamation of which I have any knowledge is a set of 'Heads for a proclamation, concerning the book of common praier' sent by Bancroft to Sir Thomas Lake on 29 Feb. 1604 and now in the State Papers Domestic as S.P. 14/6, no. 83. It contains this phrase: 'The Causeless opposition which hath bene made agaynst it [the Book of Common Prayer] as appeared to his Matie by the late conference.' In a covering letter, Bancroft asked to see the final draft before it was engrossed.

⁴⁶ Rymer, *Foedera* (The Hague, 1742), vii. 112. Rymer's date for this proclamation is in error. It should be 5 March rather than 1 March.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁴⁸ 'Bishops proceedings . . . towching those things which were committed to theire consideracon,' Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 28571, fos. 187-188v, printed by Usher in *Reconstruction*, ii. 331-5.

practicable solutions to this problem nor laid down a procedure for continuing their attack upon it. Among the points discussed some, like the combining of small neighbouring parishes, dealt with circumstances realistically, but others like the abolition of compositions for tithes and the restoration of the old system of paying tithes in kind were both visionary and reactionary. Finally they had done nothing with the questions concerning the Court of High Commission and the modifications of procedure in the other ecclesiastical courts. Action on these problems and on planting ministers in Ireland and the Borders had been side-tracked because the bishops had been unable to arrange a meeting between themselves and the members of the Privy Council. Throughout their discussions they revealed a jealousy and fear of lay power and a hope of restoring to the Church some of the independent authority it had enjoyed before the Reformation.

The foregoing account of the bishops' failure to carry out the decisions of the Conference presents the aftermath of the Conference to which the title of this article refers. This aftermath rather than the Conference itself explains why the proceedings at Hampton Court accomplished so little. This conclusion is not made to convict the bishops of dark Machiavellian designs to subvert true religion. There is no need to explain their actions in such a sensational way. Granted that they were the defenders of entrenched interests, they must still be recognized as men who according to their own beliefs sought the good of the Church. Whitgift died with the phrase 'pro ecclesia dei' on his lips. The tragedy of the situation can only be appreciated by recognizing that two sets of men, convinced of the righteousness of their respective causes as well as conditioned by circumstances, found no means of overcoming the limitations of their own points of view and reconciling their positions. The bishops, captives of their own preconceptions about the Puritans, had consistently discounted the assertion in the Millenary Petition that it represented the views of moderate reformers, acting 'neither as factious men affecting a popular parity in the Church, nor as schismatics aiming at the dissolution of the state ecclesiastical, but as faithful servants of Christ and loyal subjects'.⁴⁹ In thought, word, and deed the bishops had treated the Puritan ministers at best as men who belonged to the brood of Cartwright's scholars and at worst as Martin Marprelates one and all.

As might have been foreseen the bishops' failure to carry out the agreements of the Conference resulted in a renewal of Puritan discontent. Soon after the proclamation enjoining the use of the revised Book of Common Prayer was issued on 5 March, the Puritans noted with bitterness that most of the agreements made at the Conference had been disregarded. A memorandum which must have been written early in March contains the following headings:

⁴⁹ 'Millenary Petition', Joseph R. Tanner, *Constitutional Documents of the Reign of James I* (Cambridge, 1930), p. 57.

- (1) 'The matters reformed in the new common booke according to the intendment of the conference';
- (2) 'The matters not reformed whereof pretence was made that they should be reformed';
- (3) 'Errors and inconveniences furthur added in the new book'.

Listed under the second and third headings were complaints that the rubric on confirmation had been made worse; that the Calendar of Lessons still retained many readings from the Apocrypha which Dr. Rainolds at the king's direction had submitted as ones 'to be cast owt'; and that the wording of an answer in the catechism implied that there might be more sacraments than the two described as necessary for salvation.⁵⁰

In thus turning the Puritans once again to the ways of opposition, the bishops transformed the spectre they had feared into a reality. On the one hand they generated among the Puritans a new distrust of ecclesiastical authority. In some cases this hardened under discipline into intransigence. Several men who had subscribed under Elizabeth henceforth refused to temporize any longer. Arthur Hildersham, one of the organizers of the campaign for the Millenary Petition, voiced their feelings in December 1604. Appearing before the episcopal court of Lincoln, he was told that the king had suggested that some of the ministers with doubts about subscribing confer with the bishop and Dr. Montague, dean of the Chapel Royal. He answered sharply that 'they would not come to be borne downe with countenance and . . . scoffs'.⁵¹ In one sense then the frustration of having a measure of success snatched from their hands counted for more than the severity of ecclesiastical discipline in bringing about the deprivations of 1605 and 1606. Indeed it is not too rash to say that this factor more than any other explains the sudden upsurge of Separatism in those years. On the other hand the manœuvres of the bishops forced the Puritans once again to look beyond the Church and its supreme governor for a remedy to their grievances. Whitgift shortly before his death expressed grave apprehension at the prospect that parliament would soon convene. The irony of his position was that he and Bancroft were just at that very moment providing a new bundle of rods with which parliament could beat them. Had they shown good faith in carrying out the agreements made at Hampton Court, they might have forestalled the events which brought about a combination of religious and secular opposition to the Stuart régime. As it was, they hastened them—even to the point of precipitating the formation of what can only be called an organized Puritan party in the parliament of 1604.

⁵⁰ Brit. Mus., Add MS. 38492, fo. 12.

⁵¹ Lincoln Diocesan Record Office, Cj/14, fo. 74v.

LIBERALISM AND THE NEWSPAPER PRESS DURING THE FRENCH RESTORATION, 1814-30*

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IN 1828 STENDHAL INVENTED a little town in Franche-Comté as a setting for his novel *Le Rouge et le Noir*. He gave it a mayor, M. de Rénal, appointed in 1815 and therefore a royalist. When the novel opens, M. de Rénal is aware of being surrounded by enemies. The liberals are plotting to ruin his reputation, undermine his authority, and, in a word, take his job. He is sure that the stranger who has come down from Paris to inspect the prison and the workhouse will turn out to be a liberal spy.

'He's only come to lay blame on somebody,' M. de Rénal complains to his wife, 'and then he'll have articles put in all the liberal newspapers.'

'But my dear, you never read them.'

'Even if I don't, there's plenty of people ready to tell me about this revolutionary stuff. . . . You can't get away from it, this place is swarming with liberals. Take those linen manufacturers. They're all envious of me.'

M. de Rénal knows, bitterly, that his social standing is not above suspicion, for he made his fortune some little time before the Restoration in the manufacture of nails. To impress his enemies he decides to employ a tutor for his children: it will do the liberals good to see the mayor's children walking out with a tutor. The young man he has in mind for the job is Julien Sorel, the son of a peasant who keeps a saw-mill down in the valley.

'I've had my doubts about his morals,' the mayor confides to his wife, 'for he was a great favourite with that old army surgeon who planted himself on the Sorel family saying that he was a cousin of theirs. For all I know, the man might well have been a spy of the liberal party. He served in all that fellow Buonaparte's Italian campaigns, and even, they say, once voted against the Empire. This liberal taught young Sorel Latin, and left him a considerable number of books he had brought to the house. I'd never have dreamt of bringing in this carpenter's son to live with the children if the curé hadn't told me . . . that the boy had been studying theology for three years. So he can't be a liberal.'

* A paper read to the Anglo-American Historical Conference at the Institute of Historical Research, 1960.

Stendhal was himself a liberal, as he tells us in Chapter 2 of the novel, and readers who like historical accuracy in their fiction are sometimes warned to make allowances for irony. This is unnecessary in more ways than one. Stendhal created a sufficiently ironical situation when he placed an angry young man, Julien Sorel, at odds with Restoration society; he had no need to force the irony by contrivances. Whether or not the best people of the Restoration period really believed that liberals were seditious, irreligious, pushing, ill-bred persons, they often spoke of them in terms familiar to M. de Rénal.

Glance, for instance, through the pages of the *Quotidienne*, a royalist daily newspaper designed to be read in fashionable circles.¹ As early as 1815 the *Quotidienne* is warning its readers against left-wing deputies in the Chamber,

Experience has shown that opposition is always motivated by ambition and pride, that it rouses sedition and unrest, that it is incompatible with monarchy. Revolutionaries always start by calling themselves friends of the people, defenders of constitutionalism and liberty.²

Moving on to 1817, when the vote has been given to one in every three hundred of France's population, the *Quotidienne* decides that the liberal aim is to put all power in the hands of the masses and produce a jacobin dictatorship.³ In 1818, when liberals are demanding freedom of the press, liberal newspapers come in for the brunt of the attack: the *Journal de Commerce* is described as the echo of a party which can be traced back to the regicides of 1793, the *Minerve* as 'a reunion of jacobin fathers'.⁴ In 1819, troubles abroad are used as warnings against complacency at home: 'In England,' we read, 'the liberals assemble; in Germany, they assassinate; in France, they write, while awaiting something better.'⁵ When Napoleon has safely died on St. Helena, bonapartism becomes the main theme: 'Liberalism is only a name,' the *Quotidienne* announces. 'The great mistake of our political writers has been to allow bonapartists to hide under it since 1815.'⁶ In later years a sententious note predominates: liberals are accused of misleading youth, corrupting morals, and attacking religion.⁷ Items in this vein can be picked up at random by even a cursory reader of the newspaper.

Prefects were addicted to the same tones of disdain and abuse when referring to liberals. In 1819 there were rumours to the effect that the government was about to restrict the franchise. Since, under the existing electoral law, only 90,000 persons in the whole of France were rich enough to vote, no one could have expected these rumours to arouse widespread interest; but the agitation turned out to be livelier than any yet produced by a political issue since the return of the Bourbons. Pro-

¹ Founded in 1792 by Michaud to defend the monarchy, the *Quotidienne* was suppressed in 1797, and reappeared under Michaud's editorship in 1814.

² *Quotidienne*, 10 Feb. 1815.

³ *Ibid.*, 14 Mar., 9 May 1817.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 11 Mar., 28 Nov. 1818.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 31 July 1819.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 22 Apr. 1822.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 2 Oct. 1823.

tests and petitions from town, village, and countryside poured into the Chamber of Deputies. It was obvious to the government that the demonstration had been organized, and prefects were asked to report on liberal activists in their departments. The replies which survive in the Archives Nationales could be inserted into the pages of Stendhal without much difficulty.⁸ To almost all the prefects, liberal enthusiasts were either irresponsible young men whose idleness was a temptation to mischief, or hardened trouble-makers with a personal grievance against the régime. Prominent in their black books were retired army officers who had been placed on the list of suspects after the Hundred Days, men who had held office as mayor under Napoleon and lost their jobs with the return of the king, and lawyers and merchants who presumably believed that they would have done better for themselves in former times. These were the men who, according to the prefects, drew up petitions. They obtained signatures to them by deliberately spreading false rumours to the effect that an alteration of the electoral law would be a prelude to the restoration of feudal dues, the confiscation of national land, the destruction of industry, and the abolition of the 1818 army law. The prefect of Mayenne concluded that the name 'revolutionary' must be given to all extreme liberals, for they preached the dangerous doctrine that the government should allow itself to be guided by the wishes of the people.

It was not always the unsympathetic who drew an unflattering picture of the liberal rank and file. In the memoirs of Charles de Rémusat there is a description of a journey taken in 1823, when this distinguished liberal writer, travelling incognito, came into contact for the first time with the work-a-day liberal world of the public vehicles, inns, and posting houses.

Chance made me acquainted, between Toulouse and Limoges, with a young commercial agent from Bayonne, brisk, dashing, handsome, an out-and-out liberal, probably a carbonaro. . . . He scoffed at me, but I found pleasure and even profit in taking note of . . . the real liberalism. I fancied that I was judging a sample of that obscure world of youth, of which I had such high hopes and of which I regarded myself as destined to be a leader.

Rémusat went with his new friend to an inn, where thirty or forty men of the same type were seated at dinner,

almost all young, all jolly and noisy, all liberal and proud of it. . . . The conversation was much taken up with politics. Our victories in Spain were certainly not celebrated, and the Cortès had probably more supporters there than in any inn in Seville or Barcelona.⁹

After dinner, Rémusat was fleeced at dominoes, which he had foolishly

⁸ Arch. nat. F⁷ 6740, 6741.

⁹ France's intervention in Spain against the rebels was vigorously opposed, and the Spanish revolutionary parliament openly praised, by extreme left-wing deputies and writers.

regarded as a child's game, but he stayed all next day observing his new acquaintances.

The liveliness of their opinions [he tells us], their violent prejudices concerning persons and events, their horror at the Bourbons, at priests, and at police spies, the energy of some of them, the affectation of others, the vanity of all of them, and the eternal reciting of their love affairs, appeared to me both amusing and curious.¹⁰

Such descriptions provide a background to the more illustrious features of Restoration liberalism: the metaphysical speeches of Royer-Collard, the brilliant political analyses published by Benjamin Constant, the priggish attitudes of the Duc de Broglie, the patronage squandered by the banker Laffitte, the powerful personality of Casimir Périer, the stormy diversions created by the deputy Manuel, and the strange preponderance of M. Guizot. Facets of liberalism were many and varied in the fifteen years after Waterloo, and a satisfactory definition continues to elude historians. The following pages are merely intended to contribute to a study of the topic by referring briefly to a particular branch of liberal activity during the Restoration: the national newspaper press.

On 29 October 1815 there appeared the first liberal daily newspaper of the Restoration, the *Constitutionnel*. This paper is useful to the student of Restoration liberalism for three reasons. It survived all the vicissitudes of opposition journalism and lived to see the Bourbons chased off the throne; it appears to have had a singularly democratic organization; and it maintained far and away the biggest circulation of any newspaper of the Restoration period.

Opposition journalism was an activity demanding some ingenuity and much tenacity. All Restoration governments were at war with the press—partly, no doubt, because all newspapers of any note were at war with them—and there never was a time when the government ceased to attack newspapers with any weapon which seemed serviceable. Under these circumstances most journals founded during the Restoration were organized in a manner calculated to secure continuity of policy. The founders of a journal were usually anxious to express a particular political view. Knowing that he who wants to call the tune had better pay the piper, they tried to put up the money for the newspaper themselves, or to get it from a patron without prejudice as to policy. The banker Laffitte was the man to whom liberals usually turned for such help. Failing this, the founders offered shares, but they were careful to retain a veto on the sale of the shares. Usually one or two of the founders acted as editors of the journal, and policy was pretty well guaranteed against all eventualities short of death.

The *Constitutionnel* was quite different, and it remained unique in its organization throughout the Restoration. It was founded by a printer, who divided the property of the journal into fifteen shares of equal

¹⁰ Ch. de Rémusat, *Mémoires de ma vie* (2 vols., Paris, 1958-9), ii. 98-9.

standing. Each share could be divided between two, three, or four persons, but one person must be the nominal shareholder, and he alone was entitled to sit on the council of the newspaper. Nobody could become a nominal shareholder unless he was accepted by the other fourteen, and no nominal shareholder could make contracts with the 'sub-tenants' of his share without the consent of the council. The council of shareholders appears to have exercised complete control over the contents of the newspaper, in general and in detail. In 1819 the council drew up a list of rules for all proprietors, editors, and contributors. In 1830 it was the council which decided that the attitude of the newspaper towards Polignac should follow the advice of the lawyer Dupin. There is evidence of two occasions on which individual articles, one of them submitted by the chief editor, failed to receive the approval of the council. Unfortunately, very little information is available regarding this interesting organization.¹¹ One wonders how fifteen busy men, with many other commitments, could have been got together regularly to pronounce upon the contents of the newspaper. It is perhaps relevant to remember that articles expressing opinion appeared only two or three times a week in Restoration newspapers. Daily news was given straight, and it was not uncommon for a newspaper to announce an event and to say that comment was being reserved to a later date. Moreover, topics did not quickly grow stale. The same political questions were discussed week after week and month after month in a way which modern editors would find astonishing.

From what little is known about the shareholders of the *Constitutionnel*, it appears that the majority were anxious to make money. They were always liberal, but they felt that liberalism could and should be made to pay. Shares cost between 80,000 and 100,000 francs,¹² and the holders expected some return. This could only come from subscribers. Sale by copy was virtually unknown, advertisements almost non-existent before 1828. Subscribers would only be attracted to the newspaper if they could be fairly sure of getting what they wanted in the way of news and opinion over the three months, six months, or year for which they subscribed. News and opinion were still regarded as the only legitimate material for a newspaper: serial stories and stunts came in later, with the July Monarchy. The shareholders succeeded in making money: during the eighteen-twenties they were drawing nearly 30,000 francs a year each. The subscription list rose to 20,000, and prefects and police reported on several occasions that the *Constitutionnel* was the most popular newspaper in cafés and reading rooms throughout the country.¹³

¹¹ The archive of the journal is silent on the subject. Scraps of information can be collected from works published by persons connected with the newspaper, e.g. *Mémoires de M. Dupin* (4 vols., Paris, 1855-61), i. 226-7; L. Thiéssé, *M. Étienne* (Paris, 1853), pp. 134-7; Rémusat, *Mémoires*, ii. 311. A valuable contribution has been discovered in the correspondence between Thiers and a German publisher concerning the buying of a part-share in the *Constitutionnel*: see R. Marquand, *Thiers et le baron Cotta* (Paris, 1959), pp. 35-55.

¹² About £20,000 in our day.

¹³ Arch. nat. F¹⁸ 14-23, 261; CC 548; BB³⁰ 268.

Its nearest rival was the royalist *Journal des Débats*, hovering between 12,000 and 13,000. Others were well behind: 2000 to 6000 was the usual range for a daily newspaper, even for so notorious a publication as the *Quotidienne*.¹⁴ By 1830, nearly 11,000 copies of the *Constitutionnel* were being sent daily through the post to provincial subscribers. Some departments—Aisne, Marne, Pas-de-Calais, Rhône, and Seine Inférieure—received an unparalleled number of more than 300 copies.¹⁵

In trying to cater for its subscribers, the *Constitutionnel* started its career with an injudicious sprinkling of sedition. On 16 July 1817 it was suppressed by the police for bonapartism.¹⁶ It reappeared a week later under a new name, the *Journal de Commerce*, which it kept until the press was freed from censorship in 1819. From 1814 to 1819, censorship laws were such that the fate of all newspapers was virtually in the hands of the minister of police. Decazes, who held this office for a large part of the time, was fond of accusing left-wing newspapers of bonapartism—he suppressed four on the same pretext in a matter of eighteen months—so it is as well to know what he meant by it. He first came across the type of journalism which he described as bonapartist in 1814 in a little weekly newspaper, hardly more than a pamphlet, called the *Nain jaune*. The pages of the *Nain jaune* were devoted entirely to two purposes: to accusing aristocrats and priests of trying to regain their former privileges, and to ridiculing men who had come into favour with the Restoration. There were little poems and parodies and anecdotes, all rather contrived. There were pages and pages of sarcastic comment upon royalist writers, little known at the time and soon lost in oblivion. Once a month there was a cartoon. Aristocrats were depicted as Knights of the Extinguisher, swearing death to enlightenment; a nobleman and a priest were seen trampling on a declaration of equality. Looking at a collection of the *Nain jaune* at this distance of time it seems excessively dreary, a little tasteless, and quite futile. We are told that Louis XVIII was amused by it and that he occasionally fooled the editors by sending articles to it himself, anonymously. The police did nothing about it. Decazes, who was a councillor of the royal court of Paris at the time, disliked it and thought it ought to have been suppressed. It was certainly irreverent, but to think of it as bonapartist in any real sense would probably be to over-estimate the qualities of its founder, Cauchois-Lemaire. Little is known about this curious character, but he appears to have been a born trouble-maker, and it is doubtful whether he could have sustained any loyalty to any form of authority, bonapartist or otherwise. Decazes did suppress the *Nain jaune* at the Second Restoration, and Cauchois-Lemaire fled to Brussels where for a time he pub-

¹⁴ Arch. nat. F¹⁸ 13, 29.

¹⁵ Arch. nat. BB³⁰ 268. Distribution of newspapers in the provinces was very uneven. Seven departments—Basses Alpes, Hautes Alpes, Ariège, Corse, Haute Loire, Lozère, and Hautes Pyrénées—together took less than 200 copies of the 19 national dailies. These departments took respectively 28, 26, 25, 12, 22, 13, and 36 copies of the *Constitutionnel*.

¹⁶ Arch. nat. F⁷ 4229.

lished his paper as the *Nain jaune réfugié*, now bitterly anti-Bourbon. He took advantage of an amnesty in 1819 and returned to Paris, where he was almost immediately imprisoned for a year after a trial by jury for seditious libel. Prison gave him plenty of time for writing, and he soon became ubiquitous in the left-wing press. In 1825 he became a nominal shareholder of the *Constitutionnel*. He succeeded not only in turning the newspaper into a fierce weapon of attack upon his *bêtes noires*, the priests, but in getting the better of Thiers in a financial transaction and finally ousting him from the council of shareholders.¹⁷ In 1827 Cauchois-Lemaire published an appeal to the Duc d'Orléans to seize the throne; needless to say, when Louis-Philippe became king, our friend joined the republican opposition.

At the Second Restoration there were many people in France who despised the Bourbons and feared their entourage of resentful noblemen. Feelings found vent in a rather ineffective kind of symbolism, such as the secret wearing of a tricolour cockade under the lapel of a coat, or the wearing of cloth buttons which, when uncovered, revealed a Napoleonic emblem. This was no more serious bonapartism than drinking toasts over the water had been serious jacobitism, but it showed a lack of respect for the reigning monarch, and the government felt that it must stop. On 9 November 1815 there appeared a law for the punishment of seditious cries and writings. Most of the cases which came before the courts were not concerned with startling seditions.¹⁸ The cries were often from drunks who reeled out into the streets shouting 'Vive Napoléon!', the writings were often ill-spelt sheets written by hand, complaining of looting by occupying troops and of arrogance on the part of returning nobles, and sometimes hinting that one day Napoleon would reappear to defend his loved ones. A more serious consequence of the law against seditious cries and writings was that Decazes used it as a yardstick when wielding his immense power over the newspaper press. Article 6 declared seditious the appearance of any design invoking the name of the usurper or a member of his family. On 16 July 1817 in its art section the *Constitutionnel* gave notice of a painting of a baby surrounded by red and blue flowers, thought to depict the King of Rome; and Decazes suppressed it for bonapartism.

Seditious gestures were most common among former soldiers of the Empire. Living on half-pay, which was often in arrears, suspected by the police, tied down to a fixed abode where it was sometimes difficult to get work, they looked back with emotion to a time when the soldier was a national hero. The *Constitutionnel*, both before and after its suspension, showed sympathy with the soldiers' grievances in a discreet, one might even say cunning way. There were no articles; only innumerable little news items concerning the activities of individuals. An old

¹⁷ Marquand, pp. 40, 42.

¹⁸ G. de Bertier de Sauvigny, *La Restauration* (Paris, 1955), pp. 181-2. A typical range of cases for a fairly lively department is described by S. Fizaine, *La Vie politique dans la Côte d'Or sous Louis XVIII* (Paris, 1931), pp. 101, 122-8.

soldier with one arm, who was being brought to Paris to stand trial for sedition, jumped into the river to escape humiliation; an ex-sergeant with a wooden leg was denied entry to the Louvre by a Swiss Guard; another ex-sergeant, without means of subsistence, was put on a charge of theft with insufficient evidence; an old soldier with a gallant war record blew his brains out when his pension was stopped.¹⁹ At appropriate anniversaries there was praise for the heroism shown by France's soldiers in the great battles of Valmy, Jemappes, and Austerlitz. Military history was a fertile subject for liberal writers during the Restoration. The military campaigns were the one part of the Revolution which Frenchmen still gloried in: by praising the revolutionary armies, liberals could commend the Revolution itself to Restoration society, and thereby make a safer place for themselves under the new régime.²⁰ This was no doubt realized by editors of the *Constitutionnel*, but shareholders had probably also an eye to sales, by appealing to a disgruntled section of the community. At the head of each copy of the *Constitutionnel* there was an announcement, 'Complaints will be received from anyone who believes he has a grievance to expose.' The *Constitutionnel* was a great fighter for justice for the common man.

Or perhaps it was not quite the common man. When sympathizing with the soldiers, the *Constitutionnel* took care to raise them above the level of what it called 'the lowest classes'. The soldiers (or 'warriors' as they were always called) had fought to protect the national land, they ought to have been able to return to small farms 'like Cincinnatus', they belonged in spirit to the fine class of self-made property owners.²¹ The 1817 electoral system, confining votes to men who paid 300 francs in direct taxes, was constantly defended. When the *Constitutionnel* spoke of 'the people', it did not mean 'the ignorant masses', as it hastened to assure its readers in an article on 5 July 1818.

The people . . . is that commercial, industrious, and enlightened mass which is essentially peaceful, for which new revolutions would be calamitous because it has obtained everything which it can wisely desire: the Charter, the whole Charter, and nothing but the Charter. Large proprietors are not excluded, but they are only the minority: the majority is the intermediate class between rich and poor, the source, as it is the reservoir, of all the true strength of the nation.

The natural enemy of the people was, of course, the aristocracy, and the *Constitutionnel* was hostile to the aristocracy from the beginning. The nobles had made war on people and king for seven centuries; let this be a warning to Louis XVIII not to throw in his lot with the aristocracy. The nobles had come back in 1815 and massacred patriotic Frenchmen; they were doing their best to despoil the owners of national land; they

¹⁹ *Constitutionnel*, 6 Mar., 30 Apr. 1816; 6 June, 10 Oct. 1819.

²⁰ S. Mellon, *The Political Uses of History* (Stanford, 1958), pp. 33-6.

²¹ *Constitutionnel*, 9 Dec. 1817; 4 July 1818; 13 Dec. 1819.

were working under the cloak of a fanatical religion to destroy the Charter.²²

Thus the newspaper broached at once the enormously important religious issue. The *Constitutionnel* was above all else anti-clerical. Not, as it hastened to make clear, anti-Christian, or even anti-Catholic. The *Constitutionnel* attacked only intolerance and obscurantism.²³ It denounced only fanatical priests who preached against the Revolution or behaved arrogantly towards its officials.²⁴ It denounced also the missionaries. From the *Constitutionnel* we learn that missionaries were swarming over the country, preaching disobedience to the civil authorities, tyrannizing over humble parish clergy, and interfering in family life.²⁵ Again the *Constitutionnel* produced innumerable news items to prove its point.²⁶ On some occasions the newspaper openly stated that the missionaries had no sincere religious convictions; politics was their real concern.²⁷ This was an accusation which had often been levelled in times past at Jesuits, and it was not long before the *Constitutionnel* was flinging the name Jesuit at zealous priests, devout laymen, missionaries, and anybody who preached a troublesome kind of religion.²⁸ Whatever else people had remembered or forgotten about the Jesuits, it was well known that they had worked in secret. By constant reiteration of the word Jesuit the *Constitutionnel* was able to build up, even during the early years of the Restoration, a picture of a conspiracy to destroy the fruits of the Revolution.

The picture was exaggerated but not entirely false. Secret societies, part religious and part political, played an important rôle in the ultra-royalist reaction of 1815.²⁹ During this reaction many bourgeois Frenchmen who had elbowed their way into prefectures and mayoralties during the Empire lost their jobs to aristocratic favourites.³⁰ The *Constitutionnel* was very watchful over this matter of jobs. Whenever a

²² *Constitutionnel*, e.g. 2 Jan. 1816; 3 Oct. 1818; 21 Feb., 7 Apr., 31 July 1819.

²³ *Ibid.*, e.g. 29 Feb., 18 Mar., 16 July 1816; 6 June, 5 Sept. 1817; 25 Feb., 3 Oct. 1818. (These statements, like many others describing journalistic tendencies, could only be adequately substantiated by giving a vast list of dates, each one referring to an issue of the newspaper in which perhaps only a few words are relevant. In these cases a few examples only have been cited.)

²⁴ For example, the curé of a village in the Pas-de-Calais who was said to have hit the mayor on the head with a prayer book during a church service. 'Is it stipulated in the Concordat that pious ministers of the Catholic faith should have the privilege of outraging citizens with audacity?' asked the *Constitutionnel*, 5 Oct. 1819.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, e.g. 14, 27 Apr., 1 June, 22 July, 5, 18, 19 Oct., 4 Nov., 13 Dec. 1819.

²⁶ Some were unintentionally comic, like the story of a missionary in the department of Marne who told a shepherd, married by a constitutional priest during the Revolution, that his marriage was invalid and his eight children bastards in the eyes of the church, and that a new ceremony must be performed. The shepherd thought this over for a few days, then decided that he would like to be married again, but to a different woman. The result? Tragedy in an honest home. *Constitutionnel*, 21 June 1819.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 14 Apr., 23 Oct., 17 Dec. 1819.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, e.g. 22 July, 5, 18, 19, 23, 26 Oct., 4 Nov., 17 Dec. 1819.

²⁹ For an authoritative treatment of this subject see G. de Bertier de Sauvigny, *Le Comte Ferdinand de Bertier, 1782-1864* (Paris, 1948).

³⁰ An estimate based on available evidence places the number of persons involved in the purge at something between 50,000 and 80,000, i.e. a quarter to a third of all the people employed in administrative posts. Bertier de Sauvigny, *La Restauration*, p. 182.

mayor was dismissed in some remote commune, the *Constitutionnel* had an announcement of it. A profession of faith published on 2 January 1816 asked for 'honest men', a term which was defined in a moment of greater candour as 'proprietors and manufacturers'.³¹ If the aristocracy took all the jobs, Frenchmen would have lost what they regarded as one of the chief conquests of the Revolution.

At the head of the administration in 1819 stood Élie Decazes, a lawyer and the king's friend. His had been the guiding hand in domestic policy since 1815, when he became minister of police in the Richelieu government. He emerges from the pages of the *Constitutionnel* as the most unpopular figure of Louis XVIII's reign.³² It is not at first sight easy to see why the *Constitutionnel* should have so hated Decazes. He ranked as a moderate in politics. He brought about the dissolution of the ultra-royalist parliament of 1815, he persecuted ultra-royalist societies, and dealt severely with ultra-royalist newspapers. He took a doctrinaire liberal into his ministry in 1819, and he conceded liberty of the press. But for all these virtues Decazes was something quite alien from a parliamentary régime. He delighted in administrative powers which were not based upon legislation. He never pretended that he owed his position to parliament; he once asked left-wing deputies why they bothered to oppose him when they knew that they could not replace him. He was the king's favourite, and the king had enormous power. The *Constitutionnel* never, during Louis XVIII's reign, denied that the king had granted the Charter: the corollary was obvious, that he might try to take it away.³³ There was always the fear that aristocrats might prevail upon Decazes, and Decazes would prevail upon the king.

During 1819 several new liberal dailies were founded—the *Aristarque*, the *Libéral*, the *Renommée*—with the deliberate aim of showing that Decazes, now at the height of his 'liberal' phase, was nevertheless a tyrant of the deepest dye. These tactics were criticized as factious by a small group of academic liberals known as the doctrinaires. Guizot, writing in the *Archives*, urged co-operation between the Left and the ministry, and suggested that liberty could be safeguarded by a proper use of freedom of the press.³⁴ Rémusat, editing the first doctrinaire daily, the *Courier*, denounced the 'militarism' and 'street corner popularities' of the *Constitutionnel*. To the latter, however, the doctrinaires appeared as mere place-hunters, and electors were warned to put them in the same category as ultra-royalists and ministerials.³⁵ The doctrinaires worked hard at the business of defining liberty and constructing

³¹ *Constitutionnel*, 18 Sept. 1816.

³² *Ibid.*, e.g. 26 Oct., 15 Nov. 1819.

³³ The *Constitutionnel* of 8 Jan. 1819 has a typical reference to 'the constitution, the work and the gift of the wisdom of the king'. It was not until 1829-30 that the left-wing press, in an attempt to uphold parliament in the quarrel against the Polignac ministry, supported the theory that the Charter derived from a power superior to that of the king.

³⁴ C. H. Pouthas, *Guizot pendant la Restauration* (Paris, 1932), pp. 175-6. The *Archives philosophiques, politiques, et littéraires* appeared monthly from July 1817 to Dec. 1818.

³⁵ *Constitutionnel*, 23 July, 21 Oct. 1819.

a technique of parliamentary politics, but Rémusat himself admitted that the public found the *Courier* boring, and the paper acquired so few subscribers that the founders lost their capital within a few months.³⁶

Meanwhile the attack on Decazes was ably seconded by a non-daily journal called the *Minerve*. Beginning in February 1818, the *Minerve* was planned to appear 52 times a year at irregular intervals, thereby evading the censorship of the periodical press. In government records and royalist literature the *Minerve* figures as a bonapartist paper, but the accusation was not strictly fair. Indeed, there was only one journal of the whole Restoration period which could accurately be described as bonapartist: another semi-periodical of the Decazes era called the *Bibliothèque historique*. Founded in December 1817 by two enigmatic gentlemen, Chevalier and Raynaud, the *Bibliothèque* was in many respects like other left-wing journals. There were the usual anecdotes illustrating the pretensions of aristocrats and clergy. One of the editors, probably Benoit, introduced an original note, however. In order to present Napoleon in a favourable light, he edited 'documents' supposed to have been written by Napoleon as First Consul and Emperor. A number of them were fictitious, but they were sufficiently plausible to mislead bonapartist historians for many years.³⁷ The charge of bonapartism was levelled at the *Minerve* because it, too, sympathized with old soldiers, and because it published the poems of Béranger. Applauding Béranger can only be described as a popular way of cocking a snook at the authorities, and thousands of people indulged in the pastime. Indeed, when the poet finally succeeded in getting himself tried for libel, the passages and doorways leading into the courtroom were so jammed with sightseers that the defendant had some difficulty in entering, and the president of the court had to climb in through a window.³⁸

The most striking thing that the main contributors to the *Minerve* had in common was that they had all held posts during the Empire or the Hundred Days and had lost them with the return of the king.³⁹ This is not to say that they were not doing well for themselves in other capacities, but they were naturally on the look out for danger from restored favourites. They were anti-aristocratic and anti-clerical. Since the *Minerve* was not a newspaper but a review, opinions had often to be expressed in the form of literary criticisms. Hence the *Minerve* was predominantly anti-romantic. With beautiful simplicity, most writers in the

³⁶ *Correspondance de Madame de Rémusat* (publ. by P. de Rémusat, 6 vols., Paris, 1866), vi. 5, 42-3; Rémusat, *Mémoires*, i. 384-6. The *Courier* was founded by a society of shareholders, Barante, Beugnot, Germain, Guizot, Kératry, Loysen, Rémusat, Royer-Collard, and Villemain. It appeared daily from 21 June 1819 to 1 Feb. 1820.

³⁷ P. Gonnard, 'La légende napoléonienne et la presse libérale, 1817-1820', *Revue des études napoléoniennes*, i. 235-58. The *Bibliothèque historique* and the *Minerve* were reported by the prefects to be the most popular periodicals circulating in the provinces. Arch. nat. F¹⁸ 14-23. Its actual subscribers never numbered more than 2,500, however. Arch. nat. F^{18*II} 4-7.

³⁸ *Mémoires de M. Dupin*, i. 205-4.

³⁹ Jouy, Tissot, and Étienne had been Imperial censors; Jay had been director of the *Journal de Paris*; Dumoulin and Aignan had held posts in the provinces; and Constant had been made a councillor of state by Napoleon in 1815, with responsibility for drawing up the *Acte additionnel aux constitutions de l'Empire*.

Minerve saw romantic literature purely as propaganda for the glorification of feudal privilege. Even Benjamin Constant played down his romantic activities when he was writing in the *Minerve*, where he criticized Madame de Staël's *Considérations* for giving too favourable a view of the aristocracy.⁴⁰

The *Minerve* has earned a niche in the liberal Valhalla by publishing Constant's expositions of the meaning of constitutional government; but it was not for these that the subscription list rose to 10,000.⁴¹ It was bought, as the police were aware, chiefly for a series of articles by Étienne under the title *Lettres sur Paris*. Étienne's great skill lay in satirical analysis of the nature and working of bureaucracy. A typical passage in this vein occurred in a letter dated 25 April 1818, which noted the appointment of ever-increasing numbers of under-secretaries of state, and the happy coincidence by which there was always an appropriate increase in work to meet the number of persons appointed. Often the letters were concerned with specific abuses, for which Étienne obtained information from small communes in the remotest corners of France. In this way the despotic tendencies of the restored monarchy were brought home pointedly to thousands of readers. On 20 April 1818 Étienne was able to claim that the people of France were living in as great a servitude as the slaves of the Orient: nay greater, for they were mocked by the Charter with a delusion of freedom.

The *Minerve* and many other liberal papers met their end in the reaction which followed upon the murder of the Duc de Berri. With the advent of Villèle as minister in December 1821, the *Constitutionnel* found itself leading sadly depleted forces, in a new phase of liberal opposition. At sight of an ultra-royalist minister with an ultra-royalist parliament, it took the line that the conspiracy to restore the reign of privilege was now in full swing. For six years, every one of Villèle's measures was listed as a step in the counter-revolution.⁴² This interpretation of Villèle's motives was grossly unfair, and, according to Saint-Marc Girardin, liberal leaders knew it to be so, only it was the best they could do against a difficult opponent.⁴³ Restoration monarchy would never work while those who had suffered from the Revolution were at loggerheads with

⁴⁰ P. D. S. Petric, *Le Groupe littéraire de la Minerve française, 1818-1820* (Paris, 1927), pp. 44-7, 74-5, 91-4, 98, 121-2, 128-33. Other left-wing journals, including the *Constitutionnel*, defended the classical tradition against romanticism. The *Nain jaune* described romanticism as an attempt by Germany to rival, in the literary sphere, France's political predominance in Europe.

⁴¹ Arch. nat. F^{18*II} 4-7. This was the highest figure recorded for a non-daily paper during the Restoration. The ultra-royalist *Conservateur*, edited by Chateaubriand, was the nearest rival, with 8,500.

⁴² On 7 Jan. 1824 the *Constitutionnel* outlined the aims of the ministry: 'Rendre l'état civil au clergé, et transformer ainsi un ministère purement spirituel en une force politique. Investir le clergé de propriétés inaliénables. Lui confier l'instruction de la jeunesse. Générer l'industrie en rétablissant les entraves. La priver de sa part de l'influence politique en concentrant le droit électoral dans les grandes propriétaires du sol. Grever le trésor de trente millions de rentes pour les émigrés . . . Créer, en un mot, une grande aristocratie territoriale.' The editors summed up their attitude to Villèle in leading articles at the end of his ministry, 1, 4, 5 Jan. 1828.

⁴³ S.-M. Girardin, *Souvenirs et réflexions d'un journaliste* (2nd ed., Paris, 1873), pp. 15-17.

those who had benefited from it, and Villèle's was a serious attempt to bridge the gap by making necessary concessions to aristocracy and church. Whether Villèle would finally have been able to curb aristocratic demands is another matter. On a number of occasions he gave way, against his better judgement, to importunities from an extreme wing of his party, and writers in the *Constitutionnel* were presumably among the many Frenchmen who would not make allowances for such concessions.

Strangely enough the aristocracy was seldom, during these years, presented fairly and squarely in the pages of the *Constitutionnel* as the chief enemy. The reason becomes obvious at a second glance. In the elections of 1824 Villèle succeeded in whittling down the liberal representation in the Chamber of Deputies to a mere handful. During the next few years the most serious opposition to the government came from two unexpected sources: a large body of newly created peers in the Upper House, and the magistrates of the royal courts, who fancied themselves in the rôle of *parlementaires*. The *Constitutionnel* therefore gave up denouncing wicked aristocrats, and began instead to praise the independent spirit embodied in France's ancient institutions, a truly noble spirit which would save the nation from the machinations of an upstart minister.⁴⁴ The only problem was how to fit this new perspective into the picture of advancing counter-revolution. The answer was found by accentuating the anti-clerical line. The chief agents of Villèle in carrying out the counter-revolution were not nobles but fanatical priests, the Congregation, the missionaries, and above all the Jesuits.

Again, the *Constitutionnel* produced a continuous stream of small news items.⁴⁵ Many of the stories were ludicrous and futile in themselves, but to a public which is predisposed to think in a certain way, a large number of irrelevancies will finally seem to prove a truth. Increasing numbers of people bought the *Constitutionnel* and absorbed the same hints and denunciations day after day and week after week, without sign of flagging. Barante, towards the end of his life, described the anti-clerical campaign as a *cheval de bataille* mounted by the liberals for the attack upon Villèle. Perhaps there were some well-informed liberal politicians, like Barante, who knew that Villèle was no *dévot*, but the success of the anti-clerical campaign, badly handled as it was in many ways, shows that the fear of clericalism was a deep-rooted sentiment among the French people. Thiers, in a letter to a German newspaper, described the French nation as 'encore plus incrédule que libérale', and the police, among others, had no doubts as to the popularity of the anti-clerical articles in the *Constitutionnel*.⁴⁶ This was the one topic, moreover, on

⁴⁴ On 11 Jan. 1828 the *Constitutionnel* wrote of the Chamber of Peers, 'C'est elle seule qui, avec la magistrature, a sauvé le pays de la flagrante invasion des doctrines du pouvoir absolu et de l'influence jésuite.'

⁴⁵ At the height of the campaign, 34 anti-clerical articles appeared in the *Constitutionnel* within three months, May to July 1825.

⁴⁶ Marquand, p. 225: Arch. nat. F¹⁸ 261.

which the provincial press showed spontaneous life, many of the stories in the *Constitutionnel* being copied from provincial newspapers such as the *Journal de l'Aube*, and the *Ami de la Charte* at Nantes.⁴⁷

The *Constitutionnel* claimed to be defending the true Catholic church of France, the patriotic church, in other words the gallican church, against an ultramontane conspiracy to undermine both royal power and national liberty. Humble parish priests content to draw a modest stipend from the state were applauded in patronizing tones; Louis XIV and Bossuet were quoted at length in support of a campaign they would never have understood. There is something sickening in all the pious words about true religion from men who had no deep devotion to the church, and in the defence of gallicanism by men who really wanted something quite different, the separation of church and state; but apparently this was not felt at the time. The gallican argument gave a glow of respectability to the *Constitutionnel* which made it more popular than another liberal daily of the same period, the *Courrier français*. The *Courrier*, however, was heavily subsidized by Laffitte, and could afford to ignore public taste. Its anti-clerical articles were more openly anti-Catholic than those of the *Constitutionnel*; some, indeed, were thoroughly blasphemous.⁴⁸ The paper had no more than 5,000 subscribers when the anti-clerical frenzy was at its height.

In December 1825, the editors of the *Constitutionnel* and the *Courrier français* were acquitted by the royal court of Paris on a charge of tendency to bring disrepute upon the state religion.⁴⁹ After this resounding success the *Constitutionnel* was not likely to abandon its anti-clerical propaganda. It took the ridiculous Comte de Montlosier on to its books, and his diatribes against Jesuits continued to disfigure the journal for months to come.⁵⁰ In other respects opposition calmed down with the advent of Martignac and a Centre ministry. 'Counter-revolution has been defeated once and for all' was the key-note of the *Constitutionnel* during the year 1828. Not that the newspaper exactly supported Martignac; rather, it accepted him in a faintly grumbling spirit. Étienne, who was now chief editor of the *Constitutionnel*, was elected to the Chamber of Deputies, and we are told that he resumed his seat on a bench just to the left of left-centre.⁵¹ Politics were more confused than at any other time during the Restoration, and the *Constitutionnel* did not attempt to define a liberal policy. It merely went on flogging the old topics, the Jesuits and the need for honest men in the administration.

⁴⁷ Most provincial newspapers during the Restoration were 'official' journals, publishing notices from the prefect and extracts from the *Moniteur*, and receiving financial support from official funds. A crop of independent newspapers sprang up in the freer atmosphere of 1819, but most of these disappeared in 1820. The few which survived filled their political columns mainly with extracts from national newspapers. A local newspaper was not on the whole expected to give local news so much as to supply a selection of national news at a cheap rate.

⁴⁸ 24 anti-clerical articles appeared in the *Courrier*, May to June 1825.

⁴⁹ Reports of the trial appear in the *Moniteur*, 20 Aug., 20, 22, 27, 29 Nov., 4, 6, Dec. 1825.

⁵⁰ *Constitutionnel*, e.g. 29 Jan., 4, 9, Feb. 1828.

⁵¹ Thiéssé, pp. 143, 167.

The latter took the form of a demand for the dismissal of the numerous officials appointed by Villèle. The attitude of the *Constitutionnel* was not entirely without shrewdness, for Villèle had not given up his hopes of returning to office, and the *Gazette de France*, which supported his claims, was the nearest rival to the *Constitutionnel* among provincial subscribers.⁵² To one person at least, however, its attitude appeared sterile. During 1828 Thiers lost whatever sympathy he had had with the *Constitutionnel*. He had been growing irritated with it for some time. He disliked the perpetual criticism of Villèle. He believed that by always harping on Villèle the *Constitutionnel* was losing sight of the real enemies, the nobles and the king. At the beginning of 1828 Thiers angrily, almost personally, resented the apathy which seemed to have overtaken French politics. Martignac must be opposed tooth and nail, for Martignac was the king's minister, and the king was Charles X.⁵³ From 1828 Thiers was trying to found a newspaper of his own. He found it was much more difficult than he had imagined, and it was not until 1830 that his *National* appeared.⁵⁴ By this time, Polignac was in office.

In the attack on Polignac, newspapers were to some extent restrained by the laws of libel, which still contained the *délits d'opinion* invented by Villèle. The *Constitutionnel*, along with the dissident royalist *Débats*, took the line that a ministry so wildly out of touch with the wishes of the nation ought not to exist: this contention, according to the editor of the *Débats*, was not an attack upon the king's prerogative right of choosing ministers, but merely a criticism of the king's use of the prerogative.⁵⁵ The *National* went farther and suggested, though it could not state openly, that the king had no prerogative right of choosing ministers. The newspaper opened on 3 January 1830 with an article saying that in a constitutional monarchy ministers are appointed by the king, but went on to imply the constitutional necessity of choosing ministers designated by parliament.

To ask for responsibility of ministers was tantamount to a rejection of the Bourbon dynasty. It was the one thing Charles X would never concede, and Thiers knew it. The *Constitutionnel* had never asked for responsibility of ministers in anything more than a legal sense. As late as 1828 it had asked for a man who would stand above parties, and had described, as the ideal minister of a parliamentary state, of all people, Chatham.⁵⁶ Admittedly 1830 was the first time that liberals could have hoped to sustain a government with a parliamentary majority, but faced at last with an obvious opportunity the *Constitutionnel* failed to rise to the occasion. The doctrinaires were quicker. The *Constitutionnel* had always described the doctrinaires as place-hunters, and perhaps some

⁵² Arch. nat. BB³⁰ 263. The 7,496 provincial subscribers to the *Gazette de France* were, according to the *Constitutionnel*, mostly mayors, etc., who owed their posts to Villèle.

⁵³ Thiers's views are apparent in the letters which he wrote for the *Gazette d'Augsbourg*. See R. Marquand, *Thiers et le baron Cotta*.

⁵⁴ Rémusat, *Mémoires*, ii. 281–3.

⁵⁵ The distinction was admitted by the Appeal Court of Paris.

⁵⁶ *Constitutionnel*, 6 Jan. 1828.

among them saw their opportunity of obtaining office in 1830. Others merely recognized the surest way of getting rid of Polignac.

Among the latter was Charles de Rémusat, whom Thiers singled out as his most likely supporter. As early as 1823 Rémusat had been willing to co-operate with the more extreme Left, and he had joined with Thiers and others in writing articles for the *Tablettes universelles*. The alliance had not lasted long, however. The founder of the *Tablettes* was more interested in money than in politics, and on an evil day in January 1824, he had sold the paper to the ministry. Rémusat had drifted back into the ranks of the doctrinaires, devoting most of his time to editing a bi-weekly journal, the *Globe*. Here he expressed sharp disapproval of the anti-clerical campaign, and criticized those liberals who equated liberty with gallicanism.⁵⁷ With the advent of Polignac, however, Rémusat believed that counter-revolution was on the march, and that scruples should be set aside in the interests of united opposition. He declined to join Thiers on the *National* because he believed himself to be committed to the *Globe*, but he helped to turn the latter into a political daily, fighting on the same ground as the *National*. On the fatal day when Charles X promulgated the July Ordinances, it was Thiers and Rémusat, in a great meeting of journalists, who decided to resist the king's measures.

In 1835 the dictionary of the French Academy admitted a political meaning to the word liberal for the first time. A liberal, it said, was one who favoured political and civil liberty. Men who remembered writing in the popular liberal press during the Restoration must have wondered to see themselves grown so respectable. Of course the *Constitutionnel* had always tried to keep up a show of decorum. In 1819 the council of shareholders had decreed that there must be no word of disrespect to the king, and in 1830 the newspaper had held back from the illegal assault upon Polignac. Moreover it could fairly be held that the *Constitutionnel*, the *Minerve*, and the like had fought for liberty. Only theirs was not the liberty which seeks to free the individual human spirit from restraint. Liberty to them meant two things. First, the right of Frenchmen to be bad Catholics, an attitude sometimes described as voltairianism. And second, the right of common-born Frenchmen, especially those who had somehow made themselves self-supporting, to regard themselves as the only true, patriotic Frenchmen, enjoying a monopoly of the many perquisites obtainable under the French system of government since the time of Napoleon. Under a Bourbon dynasty increasingly committed to a missionizing church and a demanding aristocracy, liberty of this kind was impossible. Popular liberal journals have therefore to be regarded as inherently anti-dynastic; and M. de Rénal must be allowed to have been right.

⁵⁷ See especially an article of 8 Dec. 1825. Later in life Rémusat came to think that the anti-clerical campaign had been necessary: *Mémoires*, ii. 149-52.

HISTORY BOOKS FOR SCHOOLS: X

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'I FIRST LEARNT that history was a living subject—exciting, important, controversial, and therefore often wrong—from H. G. Wells's *Outline of History*.' Thus A. J. P. Taylor opens his Ford Lectures. But how can the present generation of school children gain a similar experience, for Wells, admirable as he still is in many ways, is now obsolete? The Americans, in their zeal for compactness and comprehensiveness, are producing several works that might be considered for filling such a gap in the school library—at least temporarily. Two such publications have recently been submitted for review.¹ Both conform to the modern, especially American, tendency to provide the student with as many aids to learning as possible. The reader is told how to make the best of the books by using the photographs, maps, diagrams, revision tests, bibliographies and an index with pronunciation guide. *Men and Nations* particularly is lavishly and effectively illustrated, with a liberal use of colour. There is, for example, a fine coloured plate to portray late medieval armour and a revealing photograph of German citizens waiting to collect bank-notes in hampers during the inflation of the 1920s. However, if *Men and Nations* is the more sumptuous production, *Past to Present* is the more accurate in both its text and maps, and more evenly balanced. The latter contains some errors, it is true. Nevertheless, one feels that detailed slips are not so misleading as the statement in the other book, for example, that the Battle of Britain took place after Operation Sealion had been called off. On the question of balance, fifty-eight words is rather short shrift for the Julian emperors when nearly nine pages can be devoted by Professor Mazour and Mr. Peoples to the liberation of Latin America. Indeed, the whole of their book is tinged with propaganda for America and Western democracy. With only a limited space at their disposal this means that the authors are forced to make some surprising omissions too. English readers will be struck by the absence of Marlborough, both Pitts and Gladstone. Inevitably both books suffer in English readers' eyes from such Americanisms as 'Laborites' (Labour Party) and rish' e loo (Richelieu); and we could have been spared the naïve comment of Mazour and Peoples on Plutarch: 'This book is considered a classic,' or the translation of *coup d'état* as a stroke of state. Both are interesting works; and what a

¹ *Men and Nations: A World History*. By Anatole G. Mazour and John M. Peoples. Harrap. 1960. x + 806 pp. illus. maps. 42s. *Past to Present: A World History*. By Sydney H. Zebel and Sydney Schwartz. New York: Macmillan. 1960. xii + 708 pp. illus. maps. 38s. 3d.

splendid volume could be produced by combining the illustrations of the one with the text and maps of the other! However, whichever is bought for the school library it is sure to be popular. Let them stand next to Wells rather than replace him.

Interest in archæology is now widespread and among the reasons for this the influence of television must surely be counted. Sir Mortimer Wheeler's life-story in the Living Biographies Series² is well illustrated, though the text gives evidence in places of being designed for popular rather than academic tastes. The dust-jacket, for example, dubs Sir Mortimer, 'The Digging Knight'. Mr. Clark's book is an interesting short sketch, though perhaps Sir Mortimer's place in archæology could have been more accurately revealed by at least a reference to some of his eminent colleagues. A popular survey of archæology as a whole is provided by P. E. Cleator.³ Confidence in this book is undermined (despite its being *The True Book about Archaeology*) by some unusual spellings (e.g. Greko-, Accad); the omission of any reference to Roman or British archæology; poor drawings; and the failure to include an index. Moreover, the book ends rather abruptly with the information that the Mayas managed to calculate the length of the year as 365.2421 days! It is a pity that the standards of this book are so modest—signs perhaps of hasty compilation—for a short, interesting introduction to the subject could be a useful addition to a school library. A better book, though dealing only with Egypt, has been written by E. J. Sheppard in the Then and There Series.⁴ The style is interesting and enthusiastic, the book being based on an imaginary journey up the Nile. This form, unfortunately, leads to the rather irritating necessity of passing over some topics with promises of future detailed treatment. Moreover, the weaker pupil will be confused also by the more complicated descriptions. However, there are many compensations. The type is large and clear; there are numerous excellent drawings and maps from contemporary sources; and a number of appendices provide welcome aids to teaching. R. K. and M. I. R. Polkinghorne cover the whole of ancient history in an anthology of fifteen 'tales that children should know',⁵ told simply and concisely and illustrated by bold pen sketches. The problem of the existence of different traditions in the classical authors is tackled by telling the story without interruption and relegating mention of the alternative versions to the notes on further reading.

The final book received on ancient history is of rather a different nature: it is Professor Grant's and Mr. Pottinger's *Romans*,⁶ a sequel to their similar volume on the Greeks. As one would expect, the text is

² Living Biographies Series. *Sir Mortimer Wheeler*. By Ronald Clark. Phoenix. 1960. 107 pp. illus. 8s. 6d.

³ True Book Series. *Archaeology*. By P. E. Cleator. Muller. 1960. 144 pp. illus. maps. 8s. 6d.

⁴ Then and There Series. *Ancient Egypt*. By E. J. Sheppard. Longmans. 1960. iv + 76 pp., illus. maps. 3s.

⁵ *Tales the Years Tell*, Book I. By R. K. and M. I. R. Polkinghorne. Harrap. 1960. 96 pp. illus. maps. 5s.

⁶ *Romans*. By Michael Grant and Don Pottinger. Nelson. 1960. 64 pp. illus. maps. 15s.

scholarly and the illustrations animated. Added interest and assistance to understanding are provided by parallels drawn from contemporary history in both text and cartoons. However, this concise and charming survey is for mature minds only—for those whose serious interest in the city and empire will not be diverted by the picture of the babes Romulus and Remus scrapping under the dugs of the she-wolf; or of Mars armed with a shield supplied by the War Department; or of the comic-strip versions of the *Aeneid* and 'the sexually unrestrained Messalina'. A book for sixth-form Latin pupils to provide them with Roman history without tears!

There is always, not unnaturally, a greater market for books on the history of our own country than of the ancient world, and a large proportion of those received for review here fall into this category. Teach Yourself Books are now embarking on the histories of countries in even more summary form than their biographical series. It is thus that Mr. McElwee has been set the formidable task of writing a history of England in 200 short pages.⁷ The overall impression is good. Here is no mere catalogue of facts. We are given the story in a lively way and space is found for interesting asides such as that the flower Sweet William was named after 'Butcher' Cumberland. Unfortunately, space has not been found even to mention such famous figures as Raleigh, General Wolfe, the 7th Earl of Shaftesbury and Joseph Chamberlain; nor such eminent thinkers as Hobbes, Locke and Mill. A more serious failing when a book is being considered for school use is factual inaccuracy. There are too many errors in dates (e.g. Treaty of Dover, 1671; death of Victoria, 1902), and wrong impressions (e.g. Wilkes is described as an aristocrat). Furthermore, when Ket is spelt in different ways on two consecutive pages, and when the phrase 'carve out' echoes six times through the first two dozen pages, one cannot help but conclude that the proofs have been read too hastily. With these errors corrected and, perhaps, a bibliography added, this book would provide a useful introduction to English history, for it is well planned and pleasingly written. Another 'general' history published recently is a new edition of the useful text-book on the Commonwealth by Somervell and Harvey.⁸ Extensive revision has been undertaken throughout the book to bring it up to date, maps have been redrawn and the bibliography augmented. Yet editorial ingenuity has made it possible to retain the original pagination.

For medieval English history we have the first volume of a new Batsford series⁹ that will certainly whet the reader's appetite for the volumes to come. As one expects from Batsford publications, it is

⁷ Teach Yourself Books. *History of England*. By William McElwee. E.U.P. 1960. 196 pp. maps. 6s.

⁸ *British Empire and Commonwealth*. By D. C. Somervell and Heather Harvey. Rev. edn. Christophers. 1959. xi + 444 pp. illus. maps. 16s.

⁹ British Life Series. *Life in Medieval England*. By J. J. Bagley. Batsford. 1960. xvi + 175 pp. illus. 21s.

beautifully produced and lavishly illustrated. Photographs of cathedrals explain architecture; contemporary pictures are used to explain agriculture; and, when a picture of 'an apprehensive patient' is followed overleaf by a most gruesome portrayal of an amputation, we see how illustrations can be used to explain each other! The text, too, contains a wealth of fascinating detail. We are told, for example, of the macabre early days of the ancient universities when students fled from Oxford to Cambridge after two of their number had been hanged in revenge for the murder of an Oxford woman. In eight chapters, each devoted to a separate topic, the Middle Ages are allowed to portray themselves in illustration and quotation. Unfortunately, the portrait to be an adequate likeness must be a complex one, and Mr. Bagley's book will, therefore, generally be confined to older pupils. A more suitable book for younger students of the Middle Ages is R. R. Sellmann's *Medieval English Warfare*.¹⁰ In the first dozen pages Mr. Sellmann provides interesting background information before plunging into a chronological account of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century warfare. But this is not just a reconstruction of the most important battles of the period; rather are we provided with a connected account of campaigns together with most useful discussions of strategic problems, tactical mistakes, the effects of war on society and weapons on the art of war. The text, clear in itself, is further illuminated by sketches and the author's own admirable maps and diagrams. In all, a welcome addition to a fine series.

Another, smaller, series of books has just been completed by the publication of the second and third volumes of Chambers's Scottish Histories,¹¹ dealing together with the period 1488 to the present day. These books are well planned for Scottish primary school children: they have large print, colourful illustrations and interesting questions. Moreover, the story of Scotland is moulded into the general background of English and world history in a stimulating and easy style. There are one or two reservations. The causes of the First World War are not dealt with very adequately, and there are a few slips in dates (e.g. Forster's Education Act, 1872). Also intended for primary schools is Agnes Allen's *Living under the Tudors and the Stuarts*.¹² The fortunes of the Redman family are told in simple language and with plenty of drama. The large type is frequently interspersed with good illustrations. *Elizabethan and Jacobean Home Life* are dealt with in a very different way by Islay Doncaster in the book of this title.¹³ This is a book of pictures—photo-

¹⁰ Methuen's Outlines. *Medieval English Warfare*. By R. R. Sellmann. Methuen. 1960. 78 pp. illus. maps. 10s. 6d.

¹¹ Chambers's Scottish Histories. Book 2: *The Making of Britain*. By J. Norman W. Hunter. W. & R. Chambers. 1960. 145 pp. illus. 4s. 6d. Book 3: *Modern Times*. By J. Norman W. Hunter. W. & R. Chambers. 1960. 161 pp. illus. 4s. 9d.

¹² Living in History Series. *Living under the Tudors and the Stuarts*. By Agnes Allen. 2nd edn. W. & A. K. Johnston and G. W. Bacon. 1960. 160 pp. illus. 6s. 6d.

¹³ Evidence in Pictures Series. *Elizabethan and Jacobean Home Life*. By Islay Doncaster. Longmans. 1960. ii + 62 pp. illus. 7s. 6d.

graphs of buildings, clothes and utensils of the period, and contemporary drawings. Each section has an introduction to instruct the student what to look for, and the questions accompanying each plate test his powers of observation. The book is rounded off by a list of sources for those who will wish to seek further knowledge and enjoyment after this stimulating introduction. But Elizabethan and Jacobean England contained seeds of future bitter discord. And when open war broke out in the 1640s there rose to prominence the hero of Bernard Martin's *Our Chief of Men*.¹⁴ Here is a short biography of Cromwell written in an easy style in brief, digestible chapters, specially for children. Olivers' childhood and home life are described, and the attention of the young reader will be further held by the effective use of dramatic scenes and drawings from contemporary sources. There are blemishes. There is no need to resort to such colloquialisms as 'daft' and 'cranky' to hold the interest of young people. Nor does one need to make one's hero quite so white or one's villain (Charles I) so black. Finally in this group on English history is the third edition of Book IV of that well-worn classic, Carter and Mears.¹⁵ It has been brought down to 1958, though not enlarged. This has been achieved by revising the last five chapters, adding a new one to deal with post-war events and replacing some of the old photographs. To make room for the new material five maps have been withdrawn and the section on the campaigns of the First World War halved.

The four books received on modern European and world history show diverse treatments of this period. On the seventeenth century we have a very sound and straightforward 'A'-level text-book by Dr. Cowie.¹⁶ Perhaps the most interesting feature of this book is that the first 133 pages are devoted to background material—the chapter on warfare being especially interesting. In view of this extensive treatment it is rather surprising that Dryden, Corneille, Racine and Locke receive no more than passing references. There are two faults of detail that could also be mentioned. Some of the maps are rather confusing. And is it wise in these days of expanded, and therefore diluted, sixth-forms to leave French quotations untranslated? However, these are small failings in a book made interesting by such details as the comment that Louis XIV retained 'l'air de maître du monde' even when playing billiards; and made reliable by adherence to modern interpretations. Unfortunately, no such evidence of modern scholarship is to be found in *The True Book of the French Revolution*.¹⁷ No reference is made to the aristocratic revolt, the 'Great Fear' or the legislative achievements of the Assemblies. Indeed, the whole book is largely confined to the more picturesque events in Paris, which are over-dramatized by such phrases as the

¹⁴ *Our Chief of Men*. By Bernard Martin. Longmans. 1960. x + 166 pp. illus. 8s. 6d.

¹⁵ *A History of Britain*, Book IV, 1815–Present Day. By E. H. Carter and R. A. F. Mears. 3rd edn. O.U.P. 1960. xvi + 343 pp. illus. maps. 9s. 6d.

¹⁶ *Seventeenth Century Europe*. By L. W. Cowie. Bell. 1960. viii + 376 pp. maps. 21s.

¹⁷ True Book Series. *The French Revolution*. By Arthur Booth. Muller. 1960. 144 pp. illus. 8s. 6d.

revolutionaries 'started to wade through an ocean of blood'. The history of the world after the impact of the Revolution and Napoleon is the subject of *The Making of the Modern World*.¹⁸ It is spoilt by poor maps, failure to give the sources of quotations or a bibliography, and a certain lack of balance (e.g. Europe 1815-47 and the Paris revolution of 1848 are each allowed nine pages.) Nevertheless, these faults are offset by clear, well-chosen photographs and a host of quotations from contemporary statesmen and writers, which help to provide mental pictures of the scenes or problems described. An incident in the childhood of Mme Curie, for example, illuminates the Russification policy in Poland. As one might expect from an Australian publication there is more emphasis on extra-European history. Science, technology and economic questions also find their place, and there is a separate chapter on church-state relations. This would make a useful book for general sixth-form study, though it is not really detailed enough throughout for the normal 'A'-level course. Such a work could be supplemented by the excellent *Problems in European Civilization Series*, of which the volume on the Versailles Settlement¹⁹ has recently been published. Mr. Lederer poses the question 'Was it foredoomed to failure?' and deliberately avoids such issues as the interpretations of Wilson, the question of 'war guilt', and the League of Nations. The extracts cover a whole generation of comment from 1920 to 1951, and include such obvious choices as Nicolson, Keynes, Birdsall and Tardieu, though Lansing and Colonel House are omitted. But its intrinsic worth and the current interest in the problem of national self-determination should make this latest addition to the series as popular as its predecessors.

We come now to the books that do not fit neatly into any category—they are concerned with topics rather than periods—perhaps they could be called 'lines of development' books. First let us consider the series of books by Rowland Purton²⁰ intended for the normal four-year Secondary Modern course. The plan is a good one: far too many Modern Schools, one suspects, are still using 'watered down' Grammar School courses. Here is a practical alternative with the clearly avowed object of linking the past with the present. In the first year the child is provided with a broad, general history of the world with the accent firmly on England; the second year is devoted to the Empire and Commonwealth; social history is the fare provided for the third-former; whilst the fifteen-year-old is taught the development of the British constitution. Unfortunately, although the work is well planned and the text is supported by a wealth of illustration, Mr. Purton has been too careless in his compilation. A few of the faults gleaned from all four

¹⁸ *The Making of the Modern World*. By Mary Lazarus and Marjorie Coppel. Macmillan. 1960. xii + 396 pp. illus. maps. 25s.

¹⁹ *Problems in European Civilization. The Versailles Settlement: Was it Foredoomed to Failure?* By Ivo J. Lederer. Harrap. 1960. xi + 116 pp. 10s. 6d.

²⁰ *New View Histories*. Book 1: *Our Heritage*. Book 2: *Our Commonwealth*. Book 3: *Our People*. Book 4: *Our Democracy*. By Rowland W. Purton. Collins. 2nd impression. 1959. Each volume: 256 pp. illus. maps. 5s. 9d.

volumes will have to suffice as examples. There are several mis-spellings (e.g. Baliol, Thomas Carlisle). Old myths recur (e.g. the French peasants were inspired to revolt by the *philosophes*). There is often misleading information on motive (e.g. Julius Caesar wished to conquer Britain). There are some surprising omissions (e.g. the section on nineteenth-century Ireland makes no reference to Parnell). There are also errors of fact (e.g. Turkey is said to have lost all her European possessions after the First World War). Many of the pictures are as misleading as the text, whilst the style leaves much to be desired in some places. For example, Marie Antoinette, smartly dressed and in a perruque, walks to the guillotine, in an illustration to explain that 'By this time the mob was getting right out of control and seemed to be heading nowhere.' A much more reliable single volume, though admittedly in a more academic style, is Dr. Happold's *This Modern Age*;²¹ a well-tried book now in its sixth edition. Both text and illustrations have been brought up to date, though the basic structure of the book remains unaltered. Another academically reliable book is E. H. Dance's volume on towns in the Man's Heritage Series.²² It is logically planned, quotes from original sources and adds a bibliography and an index. It is an invaluable little book for any child who wishes to study the subject. The less able or younger pupil is assisted by first-class drawings and maps, though they are rather small. Moreover, each section is consolidated by a line of time and exercises which encourage local 'research'.

The basic assumption of all these books is that history can be used to give a child an awareness of its environment, to provide an education in the broadest sense. A similar assumption underlies the cultural and current affairs lessons commonly provided for the Science Sixth. But how many pupils, either in the Arts or the Science Sixth, know anything of our scientific heritage? With this problem in mind R. W. Harris has compiled an anthology of scientific extracts²³ to show us, with the aid of clear introductory comments, how scientific thinking has evolved since the age of Plato. No anthology, almost by definition, can satisfy everyone. But we should be grateful for Mr. Harris's service, and hope that his book will be used by more than just those working for scholarships in the natural sciences.

There are finally to be considered the visual aids. The Earl of Leicester's library contains some beautiful medieval manuscripts, samples from which are being made available on colour slides. The latest set consists of the title pages of Virgil's *Eclogues*, *Georgics* and *Aeneid*²⁴, with three further frames showing details from each of these

²¹ *This Modern Age*. By F. C. Happold. 6th edn. Christophers. 1960. xiv + 303 pp. illus. maps. 10s. 6d.

²² Man's Heritage Series. *Living in Towns*. By E. H. Dance. Longmans. 1960. iv + 60 pp. illus. maps. 3s. 9d.

²³ *Science, Mind and Method*. By R. W. Harris. Blackwell. 1960. viii + 116 pp. 9s. 6d.

²⁴ Virgil *Holkham MS. 311*. 6 slides in colour with teaching notes by W. O. Hassall. Educational Productions. 1960. 25s.

pages. They provide interesting information about life in the Low Countries in the late fifteenth century; but how many schools will feel inclined to spend their limited resources on such an esoteric selection? Marie Neurath's Isotype strip on *The Evolution of Empire*²⁵ will probably have only a limited appeal, too. The production is good—colour is clear, photographs are well chosen, drawings are imaginative; qualities common to the whole series. But the academic approach of the series, again apparent in some of the pictures, in the notes, and, indeed, in the very concept of the strip, renders it suitable only for the more intelligent pupils. The second strip, on the reign of George III,²⁶ is more pedestrian in aim and approach. Indeed, so slight is it that its value for 'O'-level candidates, for whom it is intended, will be confined to a brief introductory survey or for consolidating revision. The frames contain both maps and cartoons, in perhaps rather a frivolous style for fifth-formers. The colours are used consistently, but some of the lettering is too small to be clearly visible. The teaching notes are very full and generally accurate, and there are also useful lists of past 'O'-level questions.

It is perhaps fitting to conclude this review with a notice of a new edition of a publication that must have found its way into innumerable schools—*Muir's School Atlas*.²⁷ New maps are introduced to bring the atlas up to date, though the size is unaltered as pre-Roman pages have been withdrawn. Others have been clarified by improved colouring, the exclusion of superfluous physical features, and enlargement. There are two small complaints. The useful linguistic map of Europe of the earlier editions no longer appears, and the map of Europe in 1942 does not show Hitler's reorganization of the frontiers of the central and eastern parts of the continent. But, in all, yet another generation of school children have been provided with an invaluable aid to the study of history.

²⁵ The Ancient World Series. *The Evolution of Empire*. 30 frames in colour with teaching notes by Marie Neurath. Common Ground. 1960. 30s.

²⁶ 'O'-Level British History Series. *George III and the Revolutionary Wars (1760-1815)*. 30 frames in colour with teaching notes by J. B. Simpson. Common Ground. 1960. 30s.

²⁷ *Muir's New School Atlas of Universal History*. By R. F. Treharne and Harold Fullard. 20th edn. Philip. 1960. iv + 56 + 12 pp. 14s. 6d.

EDITORIAL NOTES

HOW OFTEN one is tempted to believe, of course unjustly, that the value of contemporary books about history is in inverse relation to their length. Mr E. H. Dance's *History the Betrayer, a study of bias* (London: Hutchinson, 1960. 162 pp. 12s. 6d.) is a short book, its proportion of ideas to words is well above the average, and what the author has to say is always clear and stimulating even where one cannot agree with it. Since all history involves a selection of facts, every history is partial, in both senses of the word; but Mr. Dance believes that it need not be as narrowly national and limited as it often is. He is particularly concerned with the history that is taught in schools, and with the dangers of nationalist history in the world today. To take two examples, according to French critics English textbooks exhibit 'une manifestation d'orgueil national, conscient ou inconscient, qui minimise le rôle de tous ceux qui ne sont pas Anglais'.¹ Of the standard Russian history text-book, edited by A. M. Pankratova in 1948, Mr. Dance says it is 'about the level of our own history books in late Victorian times':² if its chief function is to stimulate patriotism, so was theirs.

One of Mr. Dance's aims is to draw attention to an international effort to check at least the worst forms of national bias in historical textbooks. Beginning with an Anglo-German exchange in 1949, there was established in 1951 the Brunswick International Schoolbook Institute, by Professor Georg Eckert. The movement for the mutual exchange and criticism of textbooks has now reached considerable proportions under the general sponsorship of UNESCO, and besides Brunswick there are Institutes at Delhi and Osaka. One reason for the success of the movement so far, Mr. Dance suggests, not without a certain acidity, is that since 1945 it 'has been mainly in the hands of school teachers and not of university historians, as it was between the wars; so that this time textbooks have been really read and really revised'.³

Mr. Dance's other main aim is to urge the revision of the content of history teaching, and especially the introduction of genuinely world history; he holds that the teaching of history in university and school is inadequate while it fails 'to provide access to the history and culture of three-quarters of the world'.⁴ We may sympathize with the plea for more informed understanding of the peoples of the East without necessarily agreeing that the Chinese lack of logic is a particular virtue.⁵ We may think that there is good reason for dropping a fair amount of lumber out of school history,⁶ without believing that it is altogether more worth while knowing about Genghis Khan than about Magna Carta.⁷ We might even argue that if we are going to reform our school syllabus, a couple of centuries of Athens might be more worth introducing than all the millennia of China. We may be shocked at Mr. Dance's suggestion that he has 'usually found footnote references to authorities more irritating than helpful'⁸—a sentiment which publishers, especially University Presses, may applaud but historians will deplore. We

¹ p. 43.
⁵ p. 96.

² p. 66.
⁶ p. 49.

³ p. 138.
⁷ p. 51.

⁴ p. 86.
⁸ p. 151.

may look with suspicion on many UNESCO activities, like other schemes for spending large sums of money on collective cultural 'projects'. But whatever reservations we may have on particular points, one would have to be very smug, even for an historian, to deny that Mr. Dance has raised important questions. When he tells us that 'our present attitude to history and to our history teaching is out of date',⁹ professional conservatism will not necessarily inspire the best reaction. It must be confessed that what might superficially be judged a rather naïve scheme for the exchange of textbooks, which has grown up almost accidentally out of small beginnings, has already achieved something of value. More important than the revision of existing textbooks may be, as Mr. Dance suggests, the effect on their use, on the writing of new ones, and on the general climate of history teaching in many countries.

* * *

A volume in which are translated some of the shorter studies of the eminent Dutch historian, Huizinga,¹⁰ is welcome. It is interesting to find him commenting, in 1929, unfavourably on the state of historical research. Not that he wanted detailed research to be abandoned in favour of 'larger' topics. 'Critical scholarship', he writes, 'is the only form for understanding the past which is appropriate to our culture.' His quarrel is with the kind of research which instead of posing clearly formulated questions is content with the mechanical accumulation of information; and Huizinga looks towards the coming development of historical interests in what his editor describes as his 'growing pre-occupation with social and socio-psychological problems.'¹¹

* * *

Teachers and others will find *BRITISH ARCHAEOLOGY: A BOOK LIST* (Council for British Archaeology, 10 Bolton Gardens, London, S.W.5. 1960. 43 pp. 5s. 6d.) a valuable introductory bibliography of the subject. It is well arranged and extends from prehistory to the industrial revolution. There are sections on regional studies and a useful classified list of books for children.

* * *

The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies is to be congratulated on its Jubilee. This is being celebrated by the publication of a special number of its Journal, including surveys of academic developments in the field with which the Society is concerned during the last fifty years. There will also be an Exhibition at Goldsmiths' Hall, from 26 June to 22 July 1961, of notable pieces of metalwork and sculpture from Roman Britain. Museums from all over the country are contributing their best material for the purpose of illustrating the art of the province.

* * *

It is always pleasant to see the re-establishment of a local history society. The Worcestershire Historical Society's projected programme for the next

⁹ p. 124.

¹⁰ *MEN AND IDEAS*, intro. by B. F. Hosclitz. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1960. 378 pp. 25s.

¹¹ p. 41. Huizinga incidentally paid a tribute to 'the excellent way in which historical research and the teaching of history are being brought in touch with each other' in Great Britain, which, he said, was 'mainly as a result of the activities of the Historical Association and its periodical *History*'.

few years is most promising and includes several episcopal registers and important cartularies. The annual subscription of a guinea should be paid to the Treasurer at the Shire Hall, Worcester. The Society's first volume is a Miscellany of five articles of varying interest and importance. The most important contribution is that of P. H. Sawyer in his edition of Evesham A, a Domesday Text. In his introduction he suggests that the information in the Evesham Text was collected from tenants in chief and arranged in hundreds, prior to the hundredal inquiries on which the 'original returns' of Domesday book may have been based.

* * *

The Bristol branch of the Historical Association is to be congratulated on the publication, under the general editorship of Patrick McGrath, of a series of local history pamphlets, at the modest price of 2s. Already published is *The Bristol Hotwell* by Vincent Waite. The next two pamphlets in the series will be *Burke and Bristol* by P. J. Underdown and *The Merchant Venturers of Bristol in the Fifteenth Century* by E. M. Carus-Wilson.

* * *

As enquiries have been made in various quarters, readers may like to know that the 'Select Dictionary of Essex Biography' referred to on page 247 of *History* for October 1960 is an appendix to *A History of Essex* (1958) by A. C. Edwards.

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The editor regrets that he has had to give up hope of obtaining reviews of the following books, which were sent out for review when they were received. He offers his apologies to their authors and publishers.

SOCIAL POLICY AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN WESTERN INDIA (1817-30). By K. Ballhatchet. Oxford University Press. 1957. 335 pp. 45s.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THOUGHT IN BYZANTIUM FROM JUSTINIAN I TO THE LAST PALAEOLOGUS. Trans. with an introduction and notes by Ernest Barker. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1957. xvi + 239 pp. 30s.

THE VICEROYALTY OF LORD IRWIN 1926-1931. By S. Gopal. Oxford University Press. 1957. 152 pp. 21s.

SOLDIERS AND GOVERNMENTS. Ed. by Michael Howard. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1957. 192 pp. 21s.

HISTOIRE DES INSTITUTIONS FRANÇAIS AU MOYEN AGE. t.i. INSTITUTIONS SEIGNEURIALES. Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1957. xii + 438 pp. 1800 fr.

L'ECONOMIE MONDIALE ET LES FRAPPES MONETAIRES EN FRANCE 1493-1680. By F. C. Spooner. Paris: A. Colin. 1956. 545 pp.

LA SCIENCE ANTIQUE ET MEDIEVALE. Ed. by R. Taton. Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1957. 627 pp.

WELLINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS. A STUDY OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEM IN THE PENINSULA 1809-1814. By S. G. P. Ward. Oxford University Press. 1957. 219 pp. 30s.

REVIEWS AND SHORT NOTICES

MEDIEVAL

In a series of learned and illuminating articles and reviews published within the last decade, Mr. Liutpold Wallach has shown himself to be a scholar equally at home in the fields of classical and medieval literature, of poetry and rhetoric, of manuscript and textual transmission, of medieval epigraphy and of Carolingian political history. Only a scholar equally well qualified could adequately review his *ALCUIN AND CHARLEMAGNE: STUDIES IN CAROLINGIAN HISTORY AND LITERATURE* which has appeared as volume XXXII of the *Cornell Studies in Classical Philology* (Cornell U.P.: O.U.P. 1959. x + 325 pp. 52s.) in which he has brought together his earlier papers wholly or largely concerned with Alcuin and his writings (acknowledged or unacknowledged) and has prefixed them with two new and substantial contributions. The first, which occupies nearly a third of the volume, is entitled 'The *Via Regia* of Charlemagne': subjecting Alcuin's 'Dialogue on Rhetoric' to a penetrating analysis as to its content, language and form, Mr. Wallach argues that although superficially an elementary treatise on rhetoric, it was intended by its author as a treatise on the nature and duties of kingship, or more strictly (if the re-dating to '801/4' is correct), of emperordom, as a guide to Charles who is cast as questioner. The second new contribution—in two parts—is concerned with 'Alcuin's Acquaintance with Procedures of Frankish Law': with the author's analysis of the various documents concerned with the flight of a criminous cleric to Tours and a supposed violation of sanctuary there I do not altogether agree, but the evidence adduced for the use of the Breviary of Alaric throws important new light on the history of Roman law in *Francia* in the Carolingian period. Mr. Wallach's intensively 'philological' approach to Alcuin's writings thoroughly justifies itself as their author emerges even more convincingly than from earlier formal biographies as a figure of major importance in both the political and the literary history of the reign of Charlemagne.

University of Edinburgh

D. A. BULLOUGH

The Publications Committee of the Historical Association and its Chairman are to be congratulated on their plan to reprint in collected form selected items from the Association's pamphlet series. The pioneer volume, *SOCIAL LIFE IN EARLY ENGLAND*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1960. xi + 264 pp. 21s.) edited by G. Barraclough includes nine essays: Roman Britain (J. N. L. Myres), the Manor and the Village (R. C. Latham), English Monasteries (Rose Graham), English Castles (F. M. Stenton), European Armour (C. J. Ffoulkes), the English House (A. Hamilton Thompson), Norman London (F. M. Stenton), Medieval Money (G. G. Coulton) and Medieval Trade Routes (J. N. L. Baker) and, dealing mainly with England in Roman and Medieval times, it gives, in the editor's words 'something of a conspectus of English life, with side-glances at the European continent, of which England was a part'. Published originally at various

dates between 1910 and 1939 the essays include among their authors some of the most distinguished authorities on this period, and though all those originally published before 1930 have since been revised and reprinted, the demand for re-prints continues unabated.

In this collected edition a few features have been lost: the interesting map of London under Henry II (amongst others) has been omitted, some of those illustrating trade routes have been reduced in scale or clearness and the concluding sections of the original essay on Armour, dealing with twentieth-century developments, have been dropped as being outside the limits of the volume.

But the gains far outweigh these losses. Collection into one volume gives the studies a more compact and durable form: the insertion of sub-headings and the provision of a carefully-compiled index makes information on particular points more easily accessible, and understanding of the relationship of the varied themes is helped by an occasional cross-reference. Most valuable of all, re-printing has given the opportunity for revision. In the notes and bibliographies the advances in scholarship of the last thirty years are clearly signposted by the appearance of new names like those of Richmond and Crawford on Roman Britain, of Orwin and Kosminsky on the Manor, of Knowles on the Monasteries, of McKenzie and Hamilton Thompson on Castles and of Ekwall on Norman London: and though changes in the text have been comparatively limited, several passages in the essay on the Manor have been re-written and a new plan has been added to that on Monasteries. About one item—that on Medieval Moneys—the editor warns his readers that its 'basic assumption' is under challenge: but reasonably justifies its inclusion on the ground of its 'importance . . . for any understanding of the Middle Ages' and of the 'intrinsic value of the information gathered together'. In any case, in this, as in the other studies, the reader's attention is carefully directed to the sources of information on which he can form his own opinion.¹

University of Sheffield

N. B. LEWIS

Mr. H. G. Richardson's *THE ENGLISH JEWRY UNDER ANGEVIN KINGS* (London: Methuen. 1960. x + 314 pp. 35s.) is not a narrative history but a series of essays, based partly on unpublished papers read to the Jewish Historical Society, whose main object is to give a clearer picture of the Jews in England before 1216. Much of what he says, and some of his detailed examples, will not be new to scholars, at least of the younger generation, but it is valuable to have the facts clearly stated and some old fables exposed. He sees the English Jewry as Norman-French in origin, attracted to London by the Norman kings, encouraged by Stephen to dwell in other great towns and attaining its heyday under Henry II, who for much of his reign borrowed occasionally from Jewish individuals and partnerships but from about 1179 tapped the wealth of Jewry by taxation. That wealth came from money-lending on the security of lands and rents and, to a much lesser and uncertain extent, from pawnbroking. The operation of loans and mortgages, with the attendant traffic in bonds and encumbered estates, is described with numerous

¹ Misprints are refreshingly rare but on p. 93 'C. R. C. Davies' is named as the author of 'Medieval Cartularies' and in the bibliography of 'Medieval Trade Routes' 'J. E. Taylor' still appears in place of J. E. Tyler.

examples, and further illustrated in ten of the twelve appendixes. It helped to create an active land market, wherein all who had resources available, from barons and religious houses to prosperous freeholders and parsons, could acquire encumbered estates by liquidating their owners' debts to Jews; some of the evidence which arose from new owners thus purchasing mortgaged estates has hitherto been mistakenly taken as evidence of a monastery or layman borrowing improvidently. Hubert Walter's justiciarship saw the creation of a system of local registries, for the registration and custody of Jewish bonds, and of a separate department of the exchequer for the administrative and legal business of the Jewry and its debtors.

Mr. Richardson says much also of the Jews under Henry III. Some of this is excellent, notably on the Assize of Jewry and the regulations for distinctive clothing; but some of it seems uncertain, from a rather hasty and superficial survey of the evidence, especially the passages dealing with the exchequer of the Jews. He also has special notes on the Expulsion and on the Norman Jewry. The former will attract much attention because it challenges the view (adumbrated by Elman but permeating the writings of many others) that the Jews were expelled in 1290 because they could no longer discharge their prime function of financing the king and had been replaced in this by the Italians. Their prime function, argues Mr. Richardson, at least since the 1180s, was money-lending in the English real estate market, in which they were superseded not by Italians but by Englishmen. The expulsion from England and Gascony was the accidental result of the financial difficulties with which Edward I's foreign policy had beset him. Taxation could no longer produce from the Jewry the large sums of the 1230s and 1240s; the only way to raise a large amount rapidly in 1290 was by taking over all Jewish assets and property, which meant expelling them. The way to the decision was prepared not by the increasing extent of Italian international finance but by the hostility to the Jews of the church, and especially the friars, which throughout the thirteenth century steadily increased and increased in its effectiveness.

It is a pity that the otherwise excellent indexes do not include the names of many non-Jews mentioned incidentally, as witnesses, etc, in the deeds given in the appendixes of documents.

Public Record Office

G. A. F. MEEKINGS

THE OXFORD HISTORY OF ENGLAND, VOL. V, THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY, 1307-1399. By May McKisack. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1959. xx + 598 pp. 35s.

The 'Political History of England' and the 'History' edited by Sir Charles Oman offered a synthesis of the history of this country as it was known and understood at the beginning of the century. *The Oxford History of England* is performing the same function for the mid-century. It differs from its predecessors chiefly in that it no longer treats the narrative of political events as constituting a sufficient synthesis in itself, but gives a good deal of space to economic, cultural and other matters. Each volume must therefore be judged as a comprehensive survey of the period allotted to it and of all that has been written on this period hitherto. The treatment should be careful, restrained, inclusive, almost conservative, for adventurous interpretations would be out of place. The public to which it is addressed will look for a readable and

reliable narrative that carries conviction, the most reasonable and widely-accepted view of controversial questions—in fact, a secure starting-point from which more personal interpretations may be developed. To write such a volume on the fourteenth century was no easy task, for the history of this period (if, indeed, the century forms an intelligible 'period' in the history of England) abounds in matters of controversy which are illuminated or obscured by a voluminous literature and, in some cases, by the uncertain light of present-day ideologies. However Professor McKisack's book may be criticized in detail, it must be said at once that it achieves admirably the purpose of the series to which it belongs. It is gracefully written: the narrative is clear and makes sense (this is particularly true of the three chapters on Edward II's reign): nearly everything that one looks for in a comprehensive history is there (the few exceptions include art, architecture, diplomatic organization—and if Irish affairs are included, why should Gascony be left out?): there are excellent points of detail, such as the collected references to specialist literature on particular problems, the battle of Bannockburn, for example, or the Parliament of York. The view presented on controversial matters can usually be defended as one of moderation and common sense; other opinions are referred to though not often discussed. On some general questions, such as the social problems of the century or the state of the Church, the treatment is optimistic; though this seems to be more the result of an effort to achieve a sympathetic understanding than of a refusal to give due weight to unpleasant facts. Certainly this sympathetic understanding comes out very well in the chapter on 'War and Chivalry'. Miss McKisack rightly emphasizes that fourteenth-century society was aristocratic and that the thoughts of the aristocracy were mainly thoughts of war.

The history of England in the fourteenth century is indeed dominated by war: war in France, war in Scotland, war as a means of national livelihood. It is easy to understand how the modern historian, once he has penetrated the superficial glamour of Froissart, may find this distasteful, but the fact cannot be ignored. Miss McKisack, by compressing her narrative of the war in France, from 1337 to 1396, virtually into a single chapter, makes it hard to follow; and, even within this chapter, space given to set battle-pieces might have been more profitably employed in a discussion of the politics and the strategy and their interaction which culminated in the battles. What is more serious is the insularity of her approach. English and French affairs were every bit as entangled in the fourteenth century as Sir Maurice Powicke has shown them to have been in the thirteenth; and the political and judicial institutions of England, social, economic or cultural developments, can hardly be understood or even described with no more than a passing reference to the experience of other western European countries.

A number of misprints and mistakes will have to be corrected in the second edition. The dukes of Brittany, for example, are in some confusion; it was an unfortunate slip to make Edward II go to Gascony in 1320 since it is perhaps the most important thing about his government of the duchy that he was the first wholly absentee duke of Aquitaine; and if, 'in the years following the truce of Esplechin (1340), Edward III's difficulties mounted' (p. 130), the 'lightening of the political atmosphere after the crisis of 1340-1' can hardly be explained by 'the turn for the better in English fortunes abroad' (p. 210). But these are matters that can easily be put right. Insularity apart,

the book is sound and attractive. A good, general account of England in the fourteenth century has long been badly needed; and generations of students (and not students only) will bless Miss McKisack for guiding them so surely through the complexities of this colourful and critical time, and will applaud her courage and pertinacity in carrying through to completion a work which other hands had taken up and abandoned.

University of Leeds

JOHN LE PATOUREL

THE BROKAGE BOOK OF SOUTHAMPTON 1443-1444, VOL. I. Edited by Olive Coleman. Southampton: University. 1960. xxxviii + 148 pp. 42s.

Southampton has the unique good fortune to possess a fine collection of so-called Brokage Books for a number of years in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In addition to other information, they give a more or less complete picture of the goods leaving the town by road and the destinations to which they were going, and a rather less complete account of the goods coming in. The first of the surviving Brokage Books—that of 1439-1440—was edited by Miss Bunyard in 1941, and Southampton Record Series is now continuing publication of this very valuable collection which throws a great deal of light on the inland trade and communication not only of Southampton but of many other towns with which she traded. The Brokage Book for 1443-1444 is being produced in two volumes of which this is the first. It has been edited with great care and thoroughness by Miss Olive Coleman who has contributed a very interesting introduction supplementing that written by Miss Bunyard for the 1439-1440 volume. Indexes and appendices will be included in Volume II which will contain the second part of the book. The Latin text has in the main been fully transcribed, whereas Miss Bunyard gave the Latin, with a translation, for one month, and then continued in English. There may be some doubt whether entries of the general nature of 'De Stephano Kynge carcante versus Romesy cum iiiii barellis saponis Gregorii Phelip' really justify four lines of text in these hard times, even though one agrees with the editor's remark that this method facilitates reference to the main classes of information which can be gathered from the book.

University of Bristol

PATRICK MCGRATH

ITALIAN RENAISSANCE STUDIES. Edited by E. F. Jacob. London: Faber. 1960. 507 pp. 63s.

Professor Jacob has brought together fifteen studies on the Italian Renaissance in this volume dedicated to Dr. C. M. Ady; and it is a pleasure to find so many valuable contributions bound together in a handsome edition, with forty well-chosen illustrations. The book is essentially one for the specialist, as severely professional as, say, a study of medieval charters, and the general reader may well feel intimidated. The separate studies cannot all be considered in a short review. Professor Hay and Mr. John Hale contribute two clear and valuable essays on the attitude of Italians to themselves, their invaders and their warfare, which provide a useful background for the other studies. Professor Weiss ('Italian Humanism in Western Europe') has recently covered the same ground in volume I of the New Cambridge Modern History. Two essays, by Mr. L. F. Marks and Dr. Nicolai Rubinstein,

give a detailed picture of Florentine government; the latter is of particular interest for its study of the attempt by the *ottimati* to take the sting out of Savonarola's reforms. Other contributors deal with the Sforza and their vassals, the 'budget' of the Roman Church, and the Malatesta of Rimini. It is a pity, perhaps, that no one has chosen to write similarly of the government of Venice.

Of the remaining studies two are outstanding and deserve comment. Mr. E. F. Gombrich demonstrates most clearly how patronage was 'one of the chief instruments of Medici policy during the century when they had no legal title to authority', and portrays a new aspect of Cosimo, hesitant to approve a work lest it be thought 'an act of vainglory on the part of a private citizen'. There is also much here to correct over-idealized notions of the freedom enjoyed by the Renaissance artist. Sir Maurice Bowra may deal with a limited field (the *canzoni a ballo* and *canti carnascialeschi* by Lorenzo and Poliziano, which represent only a small part of their complete works) but if there is still admitted to be a 'spirit of the Renaissance', it is captured most successfully in this delightful essay; and his comments can be applied with profit to many other aspects of Italian culture. Among the other contributors, Mr. John Sparrow provides a study and a defence of the Latin verse of the High Renaissance, Professor Grayson examines linguistic development in the vernacular, and Michelangelo's bronze medallions from the Sistine Ceiling are given a literary pedigree by Professor Wind from the Malermi Bible. A fascinating story of antiquaries, fakes and romance is added by Mr. Charles Mitchell. Mr. John Hale writes a Biographical Note on the late Dr. Ady, and the book is a worthy tribute to her memory.

Stamford School

D. MALAND

THE KINGDOMS OF CHRIST by Peter Bamm (London: Thames and Hudson. 1960. 367 pp. 42s.) has 365 illustrations and 18 colour plates with their captions nearly all relegated to an appendix. The text can be described as a tourist's guide to the early Church.

Sir Thomas Kendrick has followed his book on *The Lisbon Earthquake* with a study of SAINT JAMES IN SPAIN (London: Methuen. 1960. 223 pp. 25s.), full of recondite information on the mission of St. James the Greater to Spain, the visit of the Virgin Mary, with angels and a marble pillar, to him at Zaragoza, his burial at Santiago de Compostela and subsequent appearance in the ninth century to win the victory of Clavijo over the Moors. Among other relevant topics are the claim of Saint Teresa to be co-patron of Spain, and the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin. A remarkable collection of diplomas, chronicles, archaeological remains, relics, martyrs and miracles bears witness to the profound religious sentiment of Spain and the ingenuity of their inventors. The story is told in a dispassionate and detailed way, but the author does not entirely refrain from indications of scepticism at some of the marvels he relates, or from suggestions that self-interested motives as well as the desire to increase faith may have inspired them.

S. and S. Stelling-Michaud published in 1955 *L'Université de Bologne et la pénétration des droits romain et canonique en Suisse aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*. They

have now published a volume of *pièces justificatives*, LES JURISTES SUISSES A BOLOGNE (1255-1330), NOTICES BIOGRAPHIQUES ET REGESTES DES ACTES BOLONAIS (Geneva: E. Droz. 1960. 330 pp.). The problems of identification that have faced the authors can be appreciated when Erzengin (Baden) appears in manuscript as Kasunghi, and also as Arcingle, Arçinhen, Archingle, Erçengh, Herçinche, Hinerçighen, and Inarçingen.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY OF MEDIAEVAL ENGLAND, by S. B. Chrimes, now appears in a second edition (Oxford: Blackwell. 1959. xvi + 277 pp. 27s. 6d.), and will be warmly welcomed by English medievalists who have found this one of the best textbooks ever written on a single topic of English history.

EARLY MODERN

OTTOMAN IMPERIALISM AND GERMAN PROTESTANTISM 1521-55. By Stephen A. Fischer-Galati. Harvard University Press: O.U.P. 1959. 142 pp. 32s.

In a careful and competent monograph Dr. Stephen A. Fischer-Galati discusses the significance of the Turkish threat in the history of the development of German Lutheranism. He provides good evidence to show that the Emperor's need of military and financial assistance against the Turks was the Protestants' 'chief lever for securing legal recognition'. Until 1524 the religious and Turkish problems could be clearly differentiated, but after that date until the peace of Augsburg they were closely interrelated. When the diet of Speyer met in 1526 the Hungarian situation was critical. Charles V reluctantly authorized his brother, Ferdinand, to tell the diet that he was negotiating for the calling of a general council to win the support of the Lutheran princes against the Turks. Before the help promised by the diet could materialize, the disaster of Mohacs had occurred. Henceforward Ferdinand, whose claim to the Hungarian throne was disputed by John Zápolya, brought pressure to bear on his brother to compromise with the Lutherans to secure their assistance against the Ottomans. Charles, already preoccupied with the west, was never very ready to do this, but realizing ultimately the gravity of the Turkish threat he generally gave way. The Lutherans were at first somewhat divided in their attitude but after 1529, a critical year both in the religious and the Turkish situations, their leaders deliberately exploited the threat of Ottoman aggression to secure religious concessions. The Religious Peace of Nurnberg in 1532, in Dr. Fischer-Galati's opinion, 'formed the rallying point of Protestant demands for almost ten years and was of primary importance for the survival, expansion and consolidation of Lutheranism in Germany'. Indeed the Protestants had won so many concessions by 1546 that they could survive military defeat in the Schmalkaldic War and the temporary cessation of hostilities on the eastern frontier.

Dr. Fischer-Galati has shown decisively that Ottoman imperialism played a significant part in the consolidation of Lutheranism, even though he may be tempted to claim too much in this direction, and that it prepared the way

for the religious peace of Augsburg. He does not discuss the amount of financial or military help which the Emperor could have legitimately hoped for from the Protestants, nor does he examine in any detail the Lutheran attitude towards the Turk. It would too have been interesting to learn the extent to which the Sultan himself was ready to exploit religious differences within the Empire. Although the scope of this monograph may strike some readers as in some respects unduly narrow, Dr. Fischer-Galati has performed a useful service in gathering his material and presenting it in so lucid a way.

Lincoln College, Oxford

V. H. H. GREEN

IL CARDINALE GABRIELE PALEOTTI (1522-1597): I. By Paolo Prodi. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura. Uomini e Dottrine 7. 1959.

232 pp.

Gabriele Paleotti is chiefly known through his valuable account of the third period of the Council of Trent. But as bishop, and then archbishop, of Bologna from 1566 to his death in 1597 he was also an important figure in the fight for the application of the Council's reform decrees in Italy to which so much research is now being devoted by Italian ecclesiastical historians. Dr. Prodi's biography will eventually put Paleotti into his rightful place in counter-reformation history. This first volume, going down to 1566, is however in its own right a contribution of real value and freshness to our knowledge of mid-sixteenth-century ecclesiastical conditions in Italy.

The first chapters tell in some detail the story of the scion of a prominent Bologna family who, after going through his humanistic and legal studies, abandoned a successful lectureship in Civil Law at the University of Bologna to seek in Rome an opening for combining study with a more active and stimulating career than was available to a promising young man in a provincial town where loss of independence had brought academic and social decadence. Dr. Prodi reminds us how many of the men who contributed to the restoration of the ecclesiastical structure of Italian Catholicism later in the century had started life at the University of Bologna. In 1556 Paleotti was made an Auditor of the Rota by Paul IV and the chapter on his work in this capacity, which involved mastery of the Canon Law, throws some new light on Rota procedure and reform in the middle decades of the sixteenth century. By Pius IV he was sent to the Council of Trent during its last group of sessions as legal adviser to the Papal Legates. This experience, in which he was able to reveal his real qualities, was the turning point in his life. From the small tentative tasks at first allotted to him he rose finally to a position of great influence during the concluding months when Morone, having saved the Council from shipwreck, was pushing through its reform programme; Paleotti, says Dr. Prodi, practically drafted these decrees himself. In the higher ecclesiastical politics and controversies which had nearly wrecked the Council Paleotti spoke his mind openly, not concealing his sharp criticisms of Pius IV's handling of the episcopal residence question, the question of the derivation of episcopal jurisdiction and the precedence quarrel between the French and Spanish ambassadors. Nevertheless, he blamed the legates Mantua and Seripando for the vote on Residence taken on 20 April 1562, though he was equally hostile to the experts in the obstruction of reform found among the extreme curialists both in Trent and Rome, and had his moments of warm sympathy with the Cardinal of Lorraine.

General appreciation of his ability and disinterestedness, however, and of his common-sense middle of the road approach to reform earned him a place in the preliminary labours of the Congregation of the Council, on whose beginnings Dr. Prodi is able to shed some new light.

As a Cardinal Paleotti's first act was to demur on humanitarian grounds at a new tax with which Pius IV burdened the Papal States. On appointment to Bologna by Pius V he took priest's orders, was consecrated bishop and hoisted the standard of the Tridentine Decrees, though he was too realistic to suppose that their enforcement would not need time and tact. Spiritually, he was not one of the extreme *zelanti*, but he had fallen somewhat under the influence of Borromeo, and Trent had afforded a new spiritual as well as an administrative experience. Dr. Prodi has gleaned interesting new material from a variety of sources, especially from Paleotti's papers in the Isolani Archives in Bologna which Merkle had used, but not exhaustively, in his definitive edition of Paleotti's Tridentine diary.¹ The second volume on this independent and interesting counter-reformation figure will be awaited with eagerness.

Trinity College, Cambridge

H. O. EVENNETT

THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION. By Gordon Donaldson. Cambridge University Press. 1960. viii + 242 pp. 2 maps. 30s.

This is a book of interest to others besides students of Scottish history. Maitland brilliantly showed the intimate connections of the Scottish and England Reformations; Dr. Donaldson worthily follows him, using new matter deriving largely from his unparalleled knowledge of the record material. He demonstrates, not only the often unrecognized resemblances between the pre-Reformation situation in both countries, but also the differing effects of the rigid Presbyterian movement begun in the 1570s by Cartwright and Travers south of the Border and by Andrew Melville north of it. In Scotland the devotees of 'parity of ministers' eventually won: in England they ultimately lost. There lies the essential difference between the two established Churches today. But in the first decade of the Scottish Reformation it might have seemed that episcopacy under the Crown was destined to prevail in all Great Britain. What was peculiar to Scotland was the curious survival of the medieval benefice system, parochial and non-parochial, side by side with a new pastoral structure, to the support of which its revenues were only slowly appropriated—a process which the author carefully traces. In England the royal confiscation of the monasteries and the more direct legal continuity of the episcopate prevented this anomaly, with far-reaching results. One reflects that church endowment under feudal conditions had erected a clerical organization, intimately bound up with lay society, which had little logical relation to pastoral needs, and that this in turn largely explains why, in Great Britain, Scandinavia and large parts of Germany, the course of the Reformation was as much determined by economic and social trends as by theology. Dr. Donaldson, approaching wisely

¹ In *Concilium Tridentinum III, Diariorum Pars Tertia, Volumen Prior* 1931. Merkle's prolegomena, reserved for later publication, was destroyed in the bombing attack on Würzburg of 16 March 1945 which destroyed the whole of the octogenarian scholar's valuable library. Earlier editions of Paleotti's diary by J. Mendham (from a MS. copy now in the Bodleian), London, 1842, and Augustine Theiner in his *Acta Concilii Tridentini*, Zagreb, 1874.

from this angle, may nevertheless not allow sufficiently for the importance of Calvinism in the development of Scottish church polity. Calvin may not have objected to episcopal superintendence; but his rejection, following Luther, of episcopacy's sacramental basis, and still more his advocacy of a supposedly divinely ordained New Testament church order, led logically to doctrinaire Presbyterianism. Beza (*pace* our author, pp. 187-9) did not so much subvert his ideas as draw out their implications; otherwise Calvinism would never have become so uniform, all over Europe and America, as it did. Similarly, to ascribe the infrequent Eucharists of the Reformed tradition solely to the fact that the ineradicable medieval habit of infrequent communion 'was irreconcilable with the reformation conception of that sacrament as a congregational, corporate action' is to overlook the importance of the denial of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. Medieval Catholicism had indeed diminished the congregation's share; but, even had it not, the Protestant abhorrence of any notion of a Godward offering of the Passion would by itself have radically changed the balance of common worship. Nevertheless in its perception of the earthbound, almost earthy, realities of the Scottish religious situation in 1560 lies the chief value of this scholarly study.

University College, Oxford

THOMAS M. PARKER

THE PURITANS AND THE CHURCH COURTS IN THE DIOCESE OF YORK, 1560-1642. By Ronald A. Marchant. London: Longmans. 1960. xii + 330 pp. 63s.

Until fairly recently ecclesiastical archives were little used by scholars. Those of the diocese of York are however more accessible than most. Professor Dickens used them for his *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York, 1509-1558*, and the book under review is based primarily on them. It is no disparagement of Mr. Marchant to say that his book does not call for so much re-writing of traditional history as Professor Dickens' exciting work. But Mr. Marchant's monograph is full of most interesting information. It culminates in a 100-page biographical index of Puritan clergy in the diocese, which must have entailed great labour to compile and which will be invaluable to other scholars.

Some of the author's conclusions confirm familiar views. There was much clerical poverty, especially among vicars in towns and inappropriate parishes. This caused a lack of educated clergy able to preach: many Puritan ministers were winked at by the ecclesiastical authorities (before the 1630s) because they were keen preachers, in their own parishes and elsewhere. Puritanism was very much an urban phenomenon. Halifax, Bradford, Wakefield, Leeds, Sheffield, Huddersfield, Hull, Pontefract, York, Hull, Beverley, Whitby, Nottingham, Mansfield, Worksop, Newark, were all centres of Puritanism. In York a group of parishioners purchased the advowson of the rectory of St. Michael's, Micklegate, in 1633, augmented the stipend and associated members of the recently suppressed Feoffees for Impropriations in London with the trustees. In the West Riding, where many parishes were very large in relation to the expanding population, chapels at ease were erected, 'each served by a curate who depended almost entirely upon voluntary contributions for his stipend: Halifax, for instance, had twelve dependent chapels, Bradford three'. Some of these stipends were paid by a rate levied on the wealthier inhabitants, who in turn elected the curate. 'The curate, once he

had been elected, should have been secure in his possession of the curacy, as his income was assured, but in practice it is likely that popular opposition could force him to leave.' This was almost a system of congregational independency within the established church. In these industrial chapelries Puritanism 'was a genuine popular party'. In 1635 seven of the twelve Halifax chapels had curates identifiable as Puritans; in 1650 they included four antinomians (one later a Quaker), one Independent and two Presbyterians.

But Puritans were also patronized by a few great families, like the Hobys, Fairfax and Saviles, and by Henry Darley, friend of Pym and member of the Providence Island Company. Another member of the Company, Sir Francis Barrington of Essex, presented Puritans to his living in the East Riding in the hope of 'awakening those drowsy corners of the North'. Mr. Marchant shows that although there was a drive against Puritans in the 1590s, under Archbishops Hutton and Mathew (1595–1628) they were treated relatively leniently. But after 1627 'southern influences' began securing key posts in the diocese for their nominees. By 1632, with the appointment of Neile as Archbishop, the administrative hierarchy had been completely recast, its rigours now 'unsoftened by the influence of sympathizers in high places'. (In Nottinghamshire 'the significant date . . . was not that of Neile's appointment, but 1635, when he at last placed his own man in charge of the archdeaconry'.) Of those Puritan clergy whom Mr. Marchant lists from the records of the church courts, more were in trouble with the authorities after 1630 than in all the other seven decades studied. The result was that by 1640 'the hierarchy and administration of the Established Church had lost the confidence of its members'. The ecclesiastical courts broke down before they were abolished.

The nature of his sources inclines Mr. Marchant to the fashionable modern heresy of sympathizing more with the administrators than with their victims. The ecclesiastical records reveal little persecution of the Scrooby group of Puritans (nucleus of the later Pilgrim Fathers). This is very interesting. But can we conclude that 'the Separation of 1606 was due neither to an actual enforcement of conformity, nor . . . to the persecution of non-subscribers and their followers, despite Bradford's insinuations to the contrary'? Men do not take so decisive a step as emigration without good reasons; and they are likely themselves to have known what these reasons were. Is it certain that there were no forms of persecution which are not recorded? But every reader can make allowances for Mr. Marchant's bias towards the establishment; and every reader is certain to learn much from his scholarly book.

Balliol College, Oxford

CHRISTOPHER HILL

THREE TREATISES CONCERNING WALES. By John Penry. With an introduction by David Williams. University of Wales Press. 1960. xxix + 168 pp. 25s.

In reprinting the *Three Treatises Concerning Wales* of John Penry, Professor David Williams has provided students with an accessible edition of three scarce and important tracts in which the Queen, the Parliament and the Council in the Marches are harangued on the religious condition of Elizabethan Wales. Unlike some other promising scholars who came from the far

north and west of Elizabeth's dominions to the universities, this 'poore young man, borne and bredd in the mountaynes of Wales' and converted to a lively puritan faith at Cambridge, retained a burning concern for the spiritual poverty of his own country. Yet even Penry found reason to linger in the godly fellowship of the English puritan conferences and his prophetic witness to the lack of evangelical preaching in Wales became clouded with the Talmudic questions which were currently exercising his English friends and which were only partly relevant to the problem of finding and supporting in the conditions of the Welsh Church learned men able to preach in the Welsh language. These tracts reflect Penry's growing preoccupation with these questions of the validity of a non-preaching ministry and of episcopacy, the logic of which was to lead to English separatism and ultimately to an English scaffold. The treatises are beautifully printed, although the editor's exact regard for the devices of the original typography may confuse a reader not conversant with Elizabethan printed texts. Professor Williams contributes a valuable introduction which relates Penry's career to its Welsh and English nonconformist backgrounds and briefly traces his posthumous reputation. More attention might well have been paid to Penry's stay in Northamptonshire, where he shared the life of puritan churches which were on the verge of separation from the established Church through refusing to acknowledge as valid the calling of non-preaching ministers—the principal theme of Penry's *Exhortation*. From this experience, presumably, followed his conversion to a form of separatism, which Professor Williams finds enigmatic.

University of Khartoum

PATRICK COLLINSON

Nine years ago Professor J. Russell Major attempted by an examination of the States General of 1560 to explain the failure of national representative institutions to take root in France during the *Ancien Régime*.¹ He has now expanded his theme in two works. *THE DEPUTIES TO THE ESTATES GENERAL IN RENAISSANCE FRANCE* (University of Wisconsin Press. 1960. xi + 201 pp. \$6.50) is the first instalment of a larger study, and covers the period from 1484 to 1614. The title is somewhat misleading since more space is devoted to the composition and procedures of the local assemblies that elected to the States General than to the deputies. Even so, useful particulars are given about the latter's qualifications, social origins and wages. Much painstaking research among scattered archives has gone into this book, but it is heavily written and the closely packed litho-printed text is a challenge to the reader's powers of endurance. Professor Major's second work, *REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS IN RENAISSANCE FRANCE, 1421-1559* (University of Wisconsin Press. 1960. ix + 182 pp. \$4.00) is more attractively presented. Again it is only the first part of a narrative intended to reach as far as the middle of the seventeenth century. The various assemblies are dealt with fairly succinctly, except for the States General of 1484, about which more is known thanks to Jean Masselin's diary.

For its purely descriptive content, Professor Major's work should be consulted by anyone interested in the development of French representative institutions. But he is not content with a traditional interpretation of his material, and sets out 'to demonstrate the popular, consultative nature of the Renaissance monarchy'. In his view this type of monarchy was characterized

¹ J. Russell Major, *The Estates General of 1560* (Princeton University Press, 1951).

by a respect for the subject's rights which necessitated a decentralized form of government incompatible with absolutism. Charles VII brought this about after 1440, when he ceased to summon the States General, preferring to consult instead the local estates. This policy was continued by his immediate successors, though full sessions of the States General were held in 1468 and 1484. The Crown continued to seek the advice of its subjects at the local level, chiefly on matters of taxation and foreign policy, and this situation was not fundamentally altered by the trend towards absolutism under Francis I. Unfortunately this interpretation is not convincing. Although France was an administrative jungle, and the monarchy did conspire in many ways to keep it so, it is doubtful whether the later Valois really favoured local particularism. Did not Louis XI contemplate giving the kingdom a common law and a single system of weights and measures? Nor can the Crown's failure to summon the States General more frequently be considered a measure of decentralization comparable to the creation of provincial governorships. In any case decentralization and absolutism are not incompatible: a strong central authority must depend on some degree of administrative devolution.

The trouble with Professor Major's 'Renaissance monarchy' is that it rests on too literal—almost too naïve—an interpretation of constitutional facts. He sees it as 'popular' and 'consultative' simply because it summoned the estates and asked for their advice; but the king was not obliged to listen to them or to yield to their demands: if he did so, it was because either it suited his purpose or he was too weak to resist. The author has given us a useful account of French representative institutions, but hardly a deeper understanding of the monarchy. It is to be hoped that he will be less doctrinaire in his next volume.

University of Birmingham

R. J. KNECHT

THE DEFEAT OF JOHN HAWKINS. By Rayner Unwin. London: Allen and Unwin. 1960. 319 pp. 25s.

This is an account, in the modern style, of an episode—the trading voyage of John Hawkins which ended in disaster at San Juan de Ulua. The materials, drawn from sources which though mostly published are not all easily accessible, are well handled; the book is attractively written and illustrated; the maps are poor. The reader of this journal will wish to know whether anything is added to Dr. Williamson's work on Hawkins. The account of the preparations and the early part of the voyage is heavily padded out with speculation of the 'would doubtless have attended divine service' type; the reconstruction of the affair at San Juan de Ulua itself and of the homeward voyage is little more extensive than Dr. Williamson's. The writer has added, however, an excellent description of the fortunes of the castaways and of the prisoners in Spanish hands. This is particularly valuable as a reminder that the full rigour of the Inquisition was not felt in Mexico until 1571, years after most of the prisoners had settled down there to free and not unprosperous lives. The Spanish Caribbean world into which the early Elizabethans intruded was neither so tightly nor so savagely guarded as historians once supposed; it was the growing pressure upon a half-open door which caused it to be slammed. Hawkins' voyages made their contribution to this pressure, but one that is perhaps exaggerated by English writers.

University of Hull

RALPH DAVIS

MÉMOIRES DU CHANOINE JEAN MOREAU SUR LES GUERRES DE LA LIGUE EN BRETAGNE. Edited by Henri Waquet. Quimper: Archives Historiques de Bretagne, no. 1. 1960. xx + 313 pp. 12 NF.

Jean Moreau lived at Quimper. As a catholic he favoured the League, although he described it as 'guère religieuse' and was too disillusioned by the brutality and degeneration of his world to plead one cause or the other. He merely set down what he had seen, heard and remembered, without much order or method but with great attention to detail, because he had a sense of history. He regretted that much of the record was entirely lost and much more falsified. What his own account lacks in refinement, it makes up in spontaneity. It is strong stuff, but those who want to know what happened must be prepared for this. Moreau gives us more of a tableau than a chronicle, dealing principally with events in lower Brittany in the 1590s. We learn of the activities and affiliations of many of the leading personalities, who engaged in a curious, sporadic siege warfare, apparently of little or no military significance. Moreau, with his attention to detail, does not gloss things over, but obliges us to pause and flinch at the cruel toll of human suffering which lies behind bare statements of victory and defeat. At first these proud seigneurs fought for ambition, greed or revenge, but finally there was nothing else to do, and they fought from ruination and despair. The war was followed by long-lived pestilence and famine; also by an invasion of man-eating wolves—almost more dreadful than the war itself—which ravaged and terrorized the province for several years. The memoir ends with a powerful picture of moral and material chaos—complete social collapse. Of government there is scarcely a word. Moreau does not look beyond his own province, but there is no reason to suppose it was unique. This valuable work has been carefully edited, and the copious footnotes provide a great amount of additional information, much of it biographical and very hard to find elsewhere. There is a good index but unfortunately no map.

N. M. SUTHERLAND

A book of essays in honour of Wallace Notestein, *CONFFLICT IN STUART ENGLAND*, edited by the late William Appleton Aiken and Basil D. Henning (London: Jonathan Cape. 1960. 272 pp. 21s.), will be welcomed by three generations of his contemporaries. Firmly enthroned, with Neale and Namier, as one of the 'three Ns' of English parliamentary history, his pre-eminence in the study of seventeenth-century parliaments rests on some brilliant articles, on his editions of diaries, and above all on his devoted career as a 'scholar-teacher'. In this *Festschrift* some of his outstanding pupils have brought together studies in the wider field which he has made so successful a part of American historical work. It is a pleasant custom, though in such volumes the editors must find it hard to contrive much unity of theme or level. The Stuarts lasted, considering their careers, an astonishingly long time. F. G. James, who ends the book with an essay on 'The Bishops in Politics, 1688-1714', remarks that 'the factional intrigues of the eighteenth century appear as an almost sordid substitute for the epic conflicts of the Reformation and the Civil Wars'. His own contribution is not sordid at all: it makes the clear and significant point that the church was more deeply divided than the nation. But its setting is certainly remote from that of D. H. Willson's brief revision of the problem of Anglo-Scottish unity at the accession of James I,

when the English objected, among other things, to having such peers as Lord Home in ministerial posts.

The opening essay by Willson H. Coates is partly a survey—we have almost reached the stage of saying 'yet another' survey—of the current disputes on the social structure of the time and the nature of its conflicts. It is a 'problem of human motivation', and Mr. Coates is convincingly suspicious of 'plausible historical hypotheses' that become hazy at their point of contact with the actions they purport to explain. Though his conclusions have, he admits, much in common with the nineteenth-century view, even those repelled by neo-Whiggery will give them a place among the standard texts in the controversy. Perhaps Mr. Coates will help to lead us back to old-fashioned constitutional history, on which there is still plenty to be said. But Harold Hulme's contribution on this looks like a rather hasty routine lecture. An indication of a newer line of constitutional research is provided by Mary Frear Keeler's study of some of the early committees of the Long Parliament. The bleak-looking lists of names can yield a great deal both on the largely unexplored topic of administration in the war and interregnum and, as Hexter showed, on groupings and allegiances. Any electronic brain in search of a job could facilitate a full investigation on these lines by making a proper index to the Commons Journals.

Elizabeth Foster on the procedure against patents and monopolies in the 1621 parliament, and William L. Sachs on royalist pamphlets at the time of the King's trial make worth-while additions to familiar material. But perhaps the most enjoyable essays are on subjects only indirectly concerned with the 'conflict'. William Appleton Aitken clearly shares Notestein's delight in individual characters, and applies it to the men who were supposed to be running the admiralty in the last years of Charles II, a spectacle, he says with scholarly caution, 'less than edifying if not almost disastrous'. The other is Mildred Campbell's *People too few or too many*, an investigation of contemporary beliefs about population and the effects of emigration. 'We have not the fewer but the more people in England by reason of our English plantations', claimed Josiah Child; and gradually the idea spread that it paid to colonize. With its admirable production and price this book can be confidently placed among this year's scholarly bargains.

University of Manchester

D. H. PENNINGTON

JOHN LOCKE: TWO TREATISES OF GOVERNMENT. A CRITICAL EDITION WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND APPARATUS CRITICUS. By Peter Laslett. Cambridge University Press. 1960. xiii + 521 pp. 55s.

LOCKE ON WAR AND PEACE. By Richard H. Cox. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1960. xx + 220 pp. 35s.

Mr. Laslett congratulates himself that in producing a scholarly, critical edition of a modern classic of political theory he is doing something for the first time. This is perhaps to underestimate Vaughan's edition of Rousseau's political writings; but if we consider the perfunctory republishing, with an introduction, that is normally called editing in this field, and the slip-shod journalism that too often passes for the discussion of political ideas, it will be seen that he does not congratulate himself without cause. Locke's text needed to be restored to the form which Locke himself intended it to have, but the actual verbal changes are not so significant as other effects of the

importation of an attitude of precise scholarship into a field in which it has been conspicuously lacking. Without this, perhaps, Mr. Laslett would not have been led to his major revision of the history of the two Treatises. Briefly, he shows, I think quite conclusively, that they were composed in the course of the Exclusion controversy of 1679-80, that the second Treatise preceded the first, and that the object of Locke's attack was, as the title-page proclaims, Filmer, and not Hobbes. The Treatises were revised and brought out, anonymously for Locke was a cautious man, in 1689; but they were written to promote a revolution and not merely to justify one that had already taken place.

This change in dating fundamentally affects the interpretation of the two Treatises. It also helps us to understand why Locke could write in terms similar to those used by the radicals during the Civil War, whereas earlier he had expressed much more traditional and authoritarian views on politics. The explanation, Mr. Laslett believes, is his close association with Shaftesbury and probable implication even in Shaftesbury's extremer schemes. The Treatises are definitely politics and not metapolitics, in which they are not so different from most other important works of political theory. Locke writes political theory as a politician and not a philosopher: hence, Mr. Laslett suggests, the incompatibility between the theory of natural law expounded in the Treatises and the condemnation of innate ideas in the *Essay on the Human Understanding*.

Theoretical weaknesses in the Treatises are indeed not difficult to detect. Locke is open to criticism for a rather cavalier, if we may use the word, treatment of some aspects of Filmer's argument. He does not meet Filmer's criticism of the historical state of nature, nor does he appreciate some psychological aspects of the political relationship. It may be added that he blandly ignores Filmer's demand for a justification of the principle of majority rule. On the more practical question of 'separation of powers', I think that Mr. Laslett is right in insisting that Locke has primarily in mind the English constitution in the time of Charles II, and also that it is not a rigid separation but a balance. Further consideration of the empirical nature of Locke's analysis might suggest that, relations with other states being a main concern of government in the seventeenth century, Locke's 'federative' power is very close to what we should call the executive; and that the mainly police functions of his 'executive' link it with the judiciary, at a time when from Justices of the Peace upwards the two functions were imperfectly distinguished. Montesquieu had only to make a comparatively simple adjustment to produce his own more straightforward doctrine.

But although Locke was writing with the object of influencing contemporary politics and had them before his mind the whole time, it is remarkable, as is emphasized by Mr. Laslett, that he completely abandoned the customary appeal of seventeenth-century controversialists to history and tradition, and so doing, 'transformed the issues of a predominantly historical, highly parochial political controversy . . . into a general political theory'. The result was the most influential of English political writings and one which deserves both the sound and detailed scholarship which Mr. Laslett has devoted to its editing, and the insight and originality he exhibits in his introduction.

Mr. Richard H. Cox's *Locke on War and Peace* is original and ingenious, but its author belongs to the school of which the basic tenet is that political

thinkers never really say what they mean or mean what they appear to say. He rightly stresses Locke's natural secretiveness, the disingenuity of his appeals to Scripture and to Hooker, and the care he takes not to shock 'received opinions' unnecessarily. From this he proceeds to argue that there is a 'true meaning' in Locke's *Treatises* which can be discovered by means of 'clues' scattered through them. These reveal that although Locke presented the state of nature as one of peace and good will this was only 'in order to secure a public hearing for his doctrine'; in fact he meant his readers to understand that it was on the contrary a state of 'war, enmity and misery'. To escape from this state men enter civil society, apparently for self-preservation; but Locke's secret meaning is that 'their original right of self-preservation is now replaced by the commonwealth's right of self-preservation', and individual anarchy becomes international anarchy. Hobbes and Locke are both, according to Mr. Cox, fundamentally saying the same thing, only Locke is the cleverer because he manages to say it while apparently saying the opposite. This thesis is ably though somewhat repetitiously argued. There is no space here for an adequate discussion of it. I can only say that I remain completely unconvinced.

University College, London

ALFRED COBBAN

LATER MODERN

BURKE AND THE NATURE OF POLITICS: THE AGE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By C. B. Cone. University of Kentucky Press. 1957. xv + 415 pp. \$9.00.

This is the first volume of a large-scale biography of Edmund Burke; it covers his career up to the formation of the second Rockingham Administration in 1782. It is also the first comprehensive study of Burke to appear since in 1949 the Fitzwilliam MSS containing the correspondence of both Burke and his patron the 2nd Marquess of Rockingham were made fully available to scholars (Sir Philip Magnus in his short biography (1939) and the late Mr. Dixon Wecter in his specialized study on *Edmund Burke and his Kinsmen* (1939) had already been permitted to use this material). In the preparation of this work a considerable volume of material which has recently been made available has also been employed. The O'Hara Correspondence, published by Professor Hofman in 1956, is the most important of these new sources, but a good deal more has been assembled in preparation for the edition of the Burke Correspondence now in course of publication under the general editorship of Professor T. Copeland.

Professor Cone, in his introduction, shows that he considered and rejected the argument that a new biography should not be attempted until the labours of the editors of the Correspondence should have become available. He concluded that this would involve an undue delay, and, so far as the present volume is concerned, this view has some justification. Had Professor Copeland's first volume appeared before he wrote he would probably not have relied without a caveat on the questionable 'Letter to Michael Smith of 1750' as evidence of Burke's first reaction to the English scene; nor would he

have confused Burke's maternal uncle Patrick Nagle with his cousin Garrett Nagle. If the second volume had come out he might have modified in some degree his accounts of the 1769 petitions and of the Burkes' financial problems. Professor Guttridge's third volume, when it appears, will show that a letter of Burke to Rockingham has been misdated 5 December 1774 instead of 5 January 1775, a fact which throws out of gear Professor Cone's analysis of the discussions within the Rockingham party at this time. But these, and other, points are of comparatively minor importance and the main course of the narrative of events would probably not be seriously affected.

He also considered the argument that 'detailed studies of various aspects of Burke's career' should precede the biography, and here perhaps the argument is stronger, at least in the sense that there are several sources of material for the increase of our knowledge of Burke's career both private and public which are still imperfectly explored—for instance the legal records, and the scattered but extensive material on Burke's Parliamentary speeches and his other Parliamentary activities. A biography which depends so heavily on his correspondence and ignores these other sources cannot claim to be in any sense definitive.

Professor Cone does not, however, claim that his biography is definitive; he claims more modestly that he has something worth-while to say, and that he is likely to indicate to future scholars some 'fruitful areas for research'. In the first of these claims he is certainly justified. He treats Burke as a party politician who, in the course of his practice, enunciated some principles which foreshadowed the more theoretical works of his later years. In so doing he traces carefully the development of his career following closely the lines set by his correspondence, and the result is a much fuller and more balanced account than has hitherto appeared. He also draws attention to Burke's connections in fields outside politics and he checks his narrative from time to time to draw attention to points of special importance and to discuss Burke's actions and opinions. He takes pains for instance to show that Burke cannot rightly be considered to foreshadow the idea of 'dominion status'. He gives a convincing analysis of the degree to which Burke's ideas on party were based on those of Rockingham and his other aristocratic patrons, and he draws attention to the interest of Burke's arguments against the tax on the lands of Irish Absentees (particularly in the letter to Sir Charles Bingham) as an illustration of his concept of Empire. On a smaller point, but one of some complexity, he considers the existing evidence and examines the opinion of preceding scholars on Burke's share in the writing of the *Annual Register*.

It is less certain, however, that his presentation of his material is of such a nature as to draw attention to opportunities for further specialized research. For the weakness of the work is a certain absence of sharpness of definition and an undue reliance on narrative at the expense of analysis. In consequence neither the character of Burke himself in its rich complexity and its dazzling mixture of light and shade, nor the main points at issue in the judgement of his career stand out as clearly as they should, and the work must be judged on the whole to fall into the category of useful rather than of distinguished biographies.

Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford

L. S. SUTHERLAND

EDMUND BURKE AND IRELAND. By Thomas H. D. Mahoney. Harvard University Press: O.U.P. 1960. xi + 413 pp. 42s.

Distinguished Irishmen often make their careers away from Ireland and yet devote a good deal of time to speaking and writing about their native country. Its problems nag at them though they keep away from it. Burke conformed to this pattern. Shortly after he graduated he left Ireland and he only returned for a few short visits. But he never lost touch with Ireland and its problems. He was a man of strong loyalties and tenacious attachments. His family, rooted in both catholic and protestant Ireland, and his early friendships always loomed large in his life. Moreover to anyone interested in the science of politics—or in political pathology—Ireland during the eighteenth century provided a fascinating field of study. Not that Burke was ever severely clinical in his approach. He was always quick to perceive the interrelation between political and moral considerations and when he dealt with Irish issues his vivid imagination, often reinforced by the *saeva indignatio* which tormented another great Anglo-Irishman when he contemplated Ireland, inspired his argument.

In recent years three important collections of Burke papers, the Fitzwilliam collections at Sheffield and Northampton and the O'Hara letters, have become easily accessible. Professor O'Mahony has made full use of this material along with Burke's published writings and has produced a useful study of a significant aspect of Burke's life and thought. His approach is chronological and he quotes and summarizes at considerable length. If the result is a trifle monotonous—the summaries inevitably lack the force and fire of their originals—the reader is presented fully and fairly with the evidence on which Professor O'Mahony bases his conclusions.

In his concluding chapter Professor O'Mahony remarks that 'Burke was a statesman of principles. Yet a vital qualification must be added, namely that he considered time and circumstances to be all important in determining when principles should be applied.' Amongst the circumstances which Burke had to take into account was of course his own membership of an important political group. Early in his career he emphasized the value and obligations of party, and 1785 party loyalty impelled him to attack Pitt's commercial propositions though they reflected a policy which Burke generally favoured. Again sheer partisanship seems to have been strengthened by his detestation of the ruling group in Ireland at the close of the century, a group which had been consolidated during Pitt's term of office. But it must be quickly added that Ireland gave Burke an opportunity for a noble display of independence when he lost his Bristol seat by declining to defer to his constituents' narrow and near-sighted views on catholic relief and Irish trade. Burke's dispute with his constituents enabled him to touch on the two Irish problems which intensely if intermittently exercised him throughout his career—Anglo-Irish relations and the position of the Irish catholics. In discussing both questions he grounded his opinions on two firmly held convictions, that oppression was wrong and that generosity was often not only right but politic. An imperialist and an idealist, he was anxious that Ireland should remain in the empire and that England should be generous. But he never systematically answered the question of how the Irish claim to parliamentary independence was to be reconciled with imperial unity.

Nearly half Professor O'Mahony's study is devoted to Burke's sustained

campaign in aid of the Irish catholics which began in 1791 and lasted to the close of his life. Burke was passionately convinced of the justice of the catholics' cause and both his son Richard and his friend and intellectual protégé Fitzwilliam became deeply involved in the Irish struggle. Moreover Burke saw the Irish catholic question in a European context. Fair treatment, he was sure, would enlist the catholics of property in the conservative ranks, continued oppression might drive the catholic masses towards Jacobinism. Though Burke's support of the Irish catholic cause at a time when he was regarded as the most powerful defender of the old regime in Europe might appear paradoxical it was strictly in accord with his general belief in the value of well-timed concession. What he tended to ignore was the genuine fear of many Irish protestants that emancipation and reform were inevitably linked and would lead to Ireland being controlled by a catholic democracy. The advice on the question which he gave to his friends with impetuous power provides a splendid legacy for posterity. Whether in the circumstances it was always judicious is open to question. It is a pity that Professor O'Mahony does not say more about Burke's general attitude to catholicism, a factor which was bound to influence his approach to the Irish question. It is obvious that Burke had a far more profound understanding of catholicism than was current amongst eighteenth-century politicians. And he was bound to sympathize with a church in which hierarchy and tradition were important elements. But it would be interesting to know what future he would have predicted for it. During the eighteenth century catholicism had not been a dynamic force in the intellectual and political life of Europe and he probably expected that the catholic church while remaining a stabilizing factor would cease to possess those qualities which aroused the fears of many Englishmen.

Finally there is one question Professor O'Mahony touches on which merits more attention, the influence on Burke of Ireland. Eighteenth-century Englishmen belonged to a prospering community where social relationships were to a remarkable degree happily adjusted. Burke's prophetic awareness of the diseases which might undermine society and of the difficulties of politics resulted largely from his upbringing in an economically backward and bitterly divided country. And even the rich variety of his prose might be traced to the existence of at least two strong cultural traditions in the Ireland of his youth.

Trinity College, Dublin

R. B. McDOWELL

QUIBERON BAY. By Geoffrey Marcus. London: Hollis and Carter. 1960.

212 pp. 25s.

This short but scholarly book is a development of an article which Mr. Marcus wrote on the occasion of the bicentenary of the Year of Victories. The subtitle, 'The campaign in home waters, 1759', defines its scope. There is little new about the strategy of that year, nor indeed about the tactics of the battle, but for the first time attention is focussed on how Hawke's fleet, the finest before the days of Nelson, was enabled to keep the sea for such an astonishing length of time—May 1759 to January 1760. We are apt to regard battles as isolated events. Mr. Marcus rightly shows how such a victory as Quiberon Bay was the climax of a long and arduous campaign. He explains in detail how the unprecedented efforts made to supply the ships enabled the Western

Squadron to perform its task successfully. In fact, this is an essay in logistics, a sadly neglected subject hitherto. To enable 20 ships to remain on station, at least 30 were required to allow for the necessity of refitting and refreshment. The explanation how the deficiencies of eighteenth-century administration were overcome is the most useful part of the book. Attention is also paid to the medical factor, though unfortunately Lind's *Essay on Fevers*, which throws a good deal of light on the dietary problem, has not been consulted; nor should the popular error that Lind recommended lime juice for scurvy be perpetuated—the answer was a lemon.

Royal Naval College, Greenwich

CHRISTOPHER LLOYD

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ST. MARYLEBONE 1688-1835. By F. H. W.

Sheppard. London: Athlone Press. 1958. 326 pp. 37s. 6d.

Mr. Sheppard tells the story of St. Marylebone from 1688 when it was a village of 300 houses to 1831 by which time it had become, he says, 'a flourishing town, wealthy, fashionable and prosperous'. It was also one of the best administered parishes in England, with some remarkable achievements to its credit: a ring road 40 feet wide from Paddington to Islington, an infirmary for the poor in which the death rate in 1781 was one in twenty-nine compared with one in fourteen in St. Bartholomew's, a relatively efficient police force and four new churches, two of outstanding architectural merit. Practically all this was the work of the members of the Select Vestry and the Highway Commission (the Select Vestry under another name), who without pay or central direction, wrestled with the problems of a changing society in the light of their own good sense and public spirit. As Mr. Sheppard points out, the aristocratic landowners of the parish left memorials by which they can still be remembered: the Harley family by Cavendish Square, the Portmans by Portman Square; the Vestrymen and the handful of officials who carried the burden of day-to-day administration for sixty strenuous years have equal but rarely remembered claims to fame in Marylebone and Euston Roads and All Souls', Langham Place.

The Select Vestry of St. Marylebone came into existence as a result of the Act of 1756 which handed over the parochial government to ninety-nine parishioners composed mainly of local landowners with a strong sprinkling of humbler folk—tradesmen and artisans—who had shown their capacity for local government under the authority of the open vestry. The new body was a self-perpetuating oligarchy, but it was none the worse for that so long as it retained the driving force of its initiators; and the democratic vestry which came into being under Hobhouse's Act of 1831 gave a sad display of narrow-minded bigotry until it learned that good administration and direct democracy were not interchangeable terms. Mr. Sheppard has made a valuable contribution to the history of local administration in that twilight period between *ad hoc* bodies and Benthamite Boards; and it is to be hoped that the torch of the Webbs which he has re-lighted so effectively will be passed on to many others in this much neglected field. It is also to be hoped that they will extend their enquiries into the field of parish demography, a subject which Mr. Sheppard unfortunately ignores.

University of Nottingham

J. D. CHAMBERS

THE CANALS OF SOUTH WALES AND THE BORDER. By Charles Hadfield. Cardiff: University of Wales Press; London: Phoenix House. 1960. 272 pp. 30s.

The connection between improved communications and industrial expansion in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is rarely made very explicit in general accounts of that period. The connection can only be fully established by detailed studies of canals, roads, and the coasting trade. Roads and the coasting trade remain neglected topics, but the canals are now receiving the attention they deserve in Mr. Hadfield's detailed studies of them. His earlier work on the canals of southern England covered a region which was primarily agricultural and in which the traffic was too small to justify much of the canal building. His present work, covering South Wales and the Border, presents a different picture. South Wales had no navigable rivers, and the roads were incapable of bearing the bulky products of an expanding industry. There it was the canals which played a vital role in the carriage of coal, iron, and other goods; or, more truthfully, the canals and the tramroads. It is an interesting and important feature of Mr. Hadfield's work that he has described, not only the canals themselves, but also the tramroads which so often acted as feeders for them. For no other region, perhaps, has the importance of tramroads and their connection with canals been so fully and so clearly explained. These tramroads were often substantial undertakings, demanding considerable capital. They were sometimes built by the canal companies and sometimes by separate undertakers. Both tramroads and canals were sponsored and financed by landowners and by the great industrialists of the Welsh coalfield: Richard Crawshay and Thomas Guest held shares in the Glamorganshire Canal and the Duke of Beaufort in the Monmouthshire Canal and in the Brecknock and Abergavenny Canal. In all, the 200 miles of canal in South Wales and the Border cost some £1,150,000. Not all this money was well spent, but much earned a reasonable return until the railways rendered obsolete the canals and their attendant tramroads. Railway competition seems in no sense to have been unfair, though the belief that wicked railway companies strangled innocent canals dies hard. Mr. Hadfield knows too much about both canals and railways to give any countenance to such popular legends.

This book is based on the best available sources, both manuscript and printed; it shows a great knowledge of local topography, and here the reader is assisted by a number of useful maps. In places, perhaps, the detail seems a little excessive, especially in describing canals which were only a mile or two in length and in discussing projects which proved abortive. Even so, considering Mr. Hadfield's mastery of his subject, it is better to have too much than too little. His work is a valuable contribution to the economic history of South Wales; in that sense it supplements Dr. A. H. John's *The Industrial Development of South Wales*, where the part played by canals in that development was but lightly touched upon.

University of Manchester

T. S. WILLAN

Dr. Stewart Mechie's THE CHURCH AND SCOTTISH SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, 1780-1870 (Oxford University Press. 1960. xi + 181 pp. 25s.) is based on his Cunningham Lectures at New College, Edinburgh (1957). He commences with a survey of the 'agrarian and industrial revolutions' and their social

consequences; his illustrative material is largely drawn from the 'Old Statistical Account'; he emphasizes the extent to which this was contributed by the parish clergy, thus indicating their interest in social and economic conditions. Rather well-worn ground is inevitably covered in the chapters on the Poor Law and on Education; here the Church's priority is undoubted, but its main work was accomplished before the period in question, when its responsibilities were progressively diminished, and officially terminated, by the legislation of 1845 and 1872 respectively. Thomas Chalmers necessarily figures largely, both from his own preoccupation with Poor Relief, and his inspiration of others; of those cited here, Dunlop and Collins were his close associates, and Begg, Guthrie and Miller may be counted his disciples. Calvinism certainly had a social gospel, and Chalmers upheld its theocratic claims, but inconsistently tried to combine them with an indiscriminating adoption of *laissez faire* economics; and by leading the Disruption he effectively ended the prospects of ecclesiastical control of social life. Calvinism had been considerably diluted by Moderatism and Evangelicalism, and while the latter was less individualistic than is sometimes supposed, it narrowed the range of social action.

Dr. Mechie, while claiming that 'the influence of the Church in social development was neither so slight nor so reactionary as is often supposed', has to conclude that 'social concern was neither so intense nor so widespread among Scottish Churchmen as could be wished'. His biographical method strengthens the impression that individual churchmen rather than the corporate Church pioneered social progress. The Church, already divided by the eighteenth-century schisms, let alone the growth of Episcopacy and Roman Catholicism, was rent asunder by the creation of the Free Church in 1843. It is in the latter body that most of the social reformers are found; Patrick Brewster, the solitary supporter of Chartism in the Established Church, incurred its censure for his activities. Dr. Mechie makes no pretension to offer much original material; his book is rather a valuable synopsis for the general reader, and a sound introduction for the student to an important aspect of Scotland's much neglected social history.

University of Edinburgh

W. H. MARWICK

L'ALSACE AU DÉBUT DU XIXE SIÈCLE. ESSAIS D'HISTOIRE POLITIQUE, ÉCONOMIQUE ET RELIGIEUSE (1815-1830). I.—LA VIE POLITIQUE. II.—LES TRANSFORMATIONS ÉCONOMIQUES. By Paul Leuilliot. Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1959. 535 and 505 pp.

In these first two volumes of his trilogy on Alsace during the Second Restoration M. Leuilliot has amply fulfilled the promise of his preliminary study of the province during the First Restoration and the Hundred Days.¹ Like their precursor these volumes are densely packed with detailed information which is strongly buttressed by bibliographical and other footnotes. They reveal the author's immense knowledge of his chosen field during these fifteen years. In a valuable introductory chapter he sketches the social structure of Alsace and emphasizes its continued particularism and its internal variety, which is such that one might well speak of 'les Alsaces'. For instance the Bas-Rhin, within which Strasbourg, temporarily declining in population, always had a special position, was markedly different from the

¹ Reviewed *ante*, xliv. 172.

more fractious Haut-Rhin; and within the Haut-Rhin, Mulhouse, French only since 1798 and a centre of Protestantism and industry, stood out as a stronghold of opposition under the leadership of the Koechlin and other manufacturing families. Still possessing many links with Switzerland it seemed to many a veritable little Republic in the midst of Alsace. The rest of the first volume is largely taken up with the changes in political and administrative personnel, with the handling of elections, the repercussions of national and international events, the anxieties of prefects, and various 'Affaires' and the trials that followed them. The general pattern of course is that woven by the national history, but it is given a special colour by Alsace's situation as a borderland—here M. Leuilliot has many interesting things to say—by its religious divisions, its social structure and its strong liberal sympathies. The preoccupation of prefects, sub-prefects, and police authorities with liberal manifestations in varying forms, including Carbonarism, Philhellenism and Bonapartism, and with the activities of such noted liberal deputies as Voyer d'Argenson, Jacques Koechlin and 'the French Canning', Benjamin Constant, indeed looms large in this volume. But the impression of continual ferment and unrest must not be exaggerated. Many of the incidents recorded were very local or trivial and M. Leuilliot himself admits that in 1817, for instance, 'les propos séditieux' diminished and the half-pay soldiers quietened down, while the end of the reign of Louis XVIII and the beginning of that of Charles X constituted 'a period of political torpor'.

For anyone acquainted with the economic riches of Alsace M. Leuilliot's second volume will be no less rewarding than the first. It deals with problems of population and poverty; with agriculture—the characteristically varied crops, the forests, the vines, harvests, prices and usury; with communications, in which there was more improvement than has usually been supposed; with commerce and industry, from petrol (already produced at Pechelbronn) to cotton which has a chapter to itself; and finally with the working-class world—a chapter in which there is interesting evidence of the influence of English ideas and practices. The correlation, incidentally, between economic depression and political discontent is remarkably close.

From the whole picture two notable features are as yet lacking—language and religion—features so essential that I wonder whether I should not have portrayed them first rather than last. But we may count upon M. Leuilliot to deal with them no less fully and faithfully in his third and final volume.

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

J. P. T. BURY

LA BANQUE ET LE CRÉDIT EN FRANCE DE 1815 À 1848. By Bertrand Gille.

Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1959. 380 pp. 16 NF.

It has long been recognized that one of the biggest obstacles to understanding French nineteenth-century history arose from our insufficient knowledge of French banking. Many valuable books, such as Professor A. L. Dunham's, were noticeably weak when they dealt with the French banks. A study of this subject is all the more necessary as it seems that banking institutions played an important rôle in determining the rate of French economic growth.

French banks and banking can now be studied in Bertrand Gille's carefully documented thesis, which is one of the most important books on French history to be published in recent years. Based upon a wide survey of archives,

many of which had not been consulted before, and upon a dexterous use of the specialized press, this book is divided into three sections, 'Structure', 'Mechanism' and 'Policy'. This logical and clear presentation brings out the main theme of the book very clearly, namely that the French banking system was quite inadequate for the great developments which were expected in the nineteenth century. The bankers did not understand the function of credit in a modern state, and they confined themselves to organizing some particular business or to pure speculation. Those bankers who tried to organize some great credit establishment, such as Laffitte in 1825 and in 1837, soon found themselves isolated and unsuccessful. The Bank of France pursued a policy of avoiding all risk, and deliberately restricted the development of departmental branches, neglecting favourable opportunities. Yet at the same time it was hostile to the provincial banks, and was instrumental in ensuring that their note issues and discount activities were hampered. The commercial banks, on the other hand, took considerable risks, sometimes with an insufficient liquidity of assets. The whole picture reminds one of Napoleon's remark in 1806, that there could be no effective banking in France as there was no one who really knew what banking was. One of the most interesting of Gille's chapters, 'Les Banquiers et la Cité', describes this banking community, and he suggests that it was a rather self-sufficient group, not particularly well-educated, not widely travelled, and not even agreed on the principles of financial science.

The author presents his material neatly but economically; it is a work of analysis, which is deliberately restrained. Even so, it has wide implications. One of the most interesting sections is that concerned with the 'conjoncture' and with the crises of 1818, 1825 (which lasted well into the 1830s), 1839 (which continued at least until 1844) and the crisis which preceded the February Revolution of 1848. Gille suggests that in these crises the rôle of the bad harvests has been overstressed and that these crises are to be explained essentially by the credit structure which he has been describing. In this respect it is regrettable that he concludes his survey with the political revolution of 1848, and does not consider the legislation of March 1848, or any of the subsequent events which are really part of his subject. And since he allows his scope to be determined by political happenings, it is curious that he should not allow more for the effect of politics on this credit structure. After all, at the beginning of 1848, Enfantin attributed the dangerous economic situation to political uneasiness. But it is a characteristic of a book of this sort that it will attract criticisms and encourage further developments. It will have to be used by all who are interested in French nineteenth-century history.

University of Birmingham

DOUGLAS JOHNSON

The famine and post-famine migration from Ireland to America is one of those large historical movements that no competent historian of Ireland can ignore. According to Professor Arnold Schrier in *IRELAND AND THE AMERICAN EMIGRATION, 1850-1900* (University of Minnesota Press: O.U.P. 1958. xii + 210 pp. 35s.), much has recently been written on the effects of this movement on American society, but little on its impact upon Ireland. This is in a sense true, and it is the *raison d'être* of his book. But it is only partially true; for modern Irish historiography has not ignored the effects upon Ireland of this emigration, though it has not made Mr. Schrier's

distinction between direct effects and what he calls the 'return tide'. Fundamentally the book says nothing new. Its merit is in its accumulation of new detail and in its attempt to present a fresh analysis of the emigration movement as a whole.

The new detail comes mainly from private letters and folklore, and the distinctive feature of Mr. Schrier's research is his initiative and energy in tapping these sources. Appeals to the Irish public through the press and Radio Eireann yielded over 200 emigrant letters, and the issue of a questionnaire by the Irish Folklore Commission resulted in 26 notebooks from interviewers in 16 counties. The author also conducted interviews himself. From these and other sources he has compiled three interesting chapters dealing with such phenomena as the 'American wake', emigrant remittances, and the 'returned Yank'.

The analytical arrangement of the book is commendable but not altogether satisfactory. Part I gives a serviceable review of the emigration movement in general. Part II is intended to deal with the direct results of the exodus and Part III with the influence of the emigrant Irish upon Ireland. But certain themes, for example the 'returned Yank', enter into both parts; and the chapter on 'Land and labor' in Part II is not really separable from that on 'Alms and agitation' in Part III, since the emigrant remittances described in the latter was one of the vital factors in the rural economy treated in the former. The political influence of the emigration receives little attention. It would probably have been better if, instead of the structure he has adopted, Mr. Schrier had presented his material in a conventional trinity of economic, social and political effects.

The bibliography is systematic and thorough, but the classification is not always sound. The citation of sources offers a maximum of inconvenience to the reader, each chapter having its own series of references and all the notes being printed at the end of the book without the help of running heads to distinguish one series from another.

The book is the product of much industry and resource, and it assembles a substantial body of information, for the most part clearly and reliably, though without depth of insight or subtlety of treatment. It does succeed in conveying the fact that, despite the vast numbers who emigrated and despite the vast sums that the emigrants collectively sent home, Irish society remained remarkably impervious to American influence.

Trinity College, Dublin

T. W. MOODY

HARRIET MARTINEAU: A RADICAL VICTORIAN. By R. K. Webb. London:

Heinemann. 1960. xiv + 385 pp. 35s.

Professor Webb, author of *The British Working Class Reader, 1790-1848*, has brought his extensive knowledge of early nineteenth-century radicalism to bear upon a misunderstood and sometimes undervalued figure. Harriet Martineau, copious and indefatigable, touched political and intellectual life at many points from the 1830s to the '60s. Political economy—America—slavery—education—socialism: these are only a few of the topics to which she directed the efforts of her mind and pen. Both as biography and as history Professor Webb's book is to be welcomed. It throws much light upon a remarkable woman and upon the still more remarkable society in which she lived.

To Professor Webb Miss Martineau is 'an eccentric'. But he objects to a purely biographical approach which, he claims, has concentrated upon what is unique in her life rather than upon what was 'symptomatic and even typical'. In his own work the opposite course leads to 'an attempt to define Victorian radicalism'. Such a programme raises many questions. Is 'Victorian radicalism' susceptible of more than a series of ostensive definitions? Can an 'eccentric' be typical of a social movement, or even symptomatic, unless the movement be regarded as a malaise? Professor Webb's final chapter, with its acknowledgement of the persistent ambiguity of 'radicalism' and its recourse to 'tempers or approaches', strongly suggests that the attempt at definition has failed. 'Temper' and 'approach' are too vague to yield useful definitions, and it is, in any case, all too clear that sharp differences of temper and approach separated persons whom contemporaries regarded and historians must regard likewise as fellow-radicals. This is not surprising or disturbing. A society in which the eccentric Miss Martineau, with her quirks and dogmatic extremities—her personality, according to Mr. Webb, was 'seldom less than fantastical'—could achieve the position she did was manifestly not one in which clearly definable categories would work easily.

It was a society, he remarks, 'resolutely amateur'. In no other kind of society would Miss Martineau's achievement have been possible. But he seems, unfairly, to attribute the faults of 'amateurishness' to all amateurs. This is to ignore differences and degrees. It may be true, for instance, to say that John Stuart Mill and Harriet Martineau were both amateur economists, but it is not very informative, and it would give a very inadequate impression of the relative merits of Mill's *Principles* and Miss Martineau's *Illustrations of Political Economy*. It is, anyhow, hard to believe that any professional could have done the jobs Miss Martineau and others like her did for their society, and hard to be confident that professionals today are doing the equivalent jobs adequately for ours. Professor Webb, at all events, has written a resolutely professional book. It is the more regrettable that he makes 'a guess with more than a little justification that Miss Martineau was latently homosexual', for this seems an unnecessary piece of amateur psychology. It is an avoidable blemish in a book which in general shows an impressive grasp of a wide range of evidence and uses the evidence in a shrewd and well-balanced way.

University College, London

J. H. BURNS

THE NEW BONAPARTIST GENERALS IN THE CRIMEAN WAR: DISTRUST AND DECISION-MAKING IN THE ANGLO-FRENCH ALLIANCE. By Brison D. Gooch. The Hague: Nijhoff. 1959. viii + 289 pp. 19 guilders.

Kinglake's nine volumes on the Crimean War end with Raglan's body being escorted to the coast in July 1855, when the war had another couple of months hard fighting to come and six months more before the Treaty of Paris was signed. This book acts as a corrective for English readers, for Mr. Gooch deals only incidentally (but very fairly) with the British effort, concentrating on the problems of the whole alliance in conflict with Russia. There are penetrating character studies of the three chief French commanders: St. Arnaud, the ex-billiards marker, vibrant tenor and fiddler, concert party hero and duellist, fluent English speaker, dying on his feet; Canrobert, ambitious and confident while a subordinate, indecisive as chief

commander and willingly over-ridden by Napoleon III at the other end of a telegraph wire; Pélissier, who had once exterminated by suffocation a whole Arab tribe in their caves of refuge, a master of bad language, recipient of an omelette (a just comment) full in the face from an insulted waiter, energetic, brutal, the most successful general of the war. There are brief, straightforward, non-technical descriptions of movements and battles; the Russians believed the Light Brigade at Balaclava must have been drunk. International reactions are well shown. Many traces of the ancient Anglo-French hostility abounded. The French were particularly critical of the English in the dreadful winter of 1854-5, and with professional arrogance blamed the British officers for living apart from their men. It is ironical that in the following winter, while the British had learnt their lessons and were 'well fed, well clothed and well sheltered', the French had lost their standards and at least 24,000 died (of typhus and cholera chiefly) in the early months of 1856. It was strange how everything always went wrong. When the French wished to advance, the British hesitated. Even the wine blew up. Failure against the Redan balanced the capture of the Malakoff. The Kertch affair was a joint fiasco. Perhaps the Russians weren't really trying? The French Army inherited useless military ideas and delusory notions of grandeur from their miserable Algerian experiences. Confusion between genuine Napoleonic exploits and the trumpery achievements of Napoleon III's 'marshals' led almost inevitably to 1870. And to the British, angry at their own humiliations and idiocies, the second Empire and its fancy-dress army quickly became the potential enemy for the new volunteer call of 1860. It is an astonishing thought that these Victorian part-time soldiers might truly have been a match for them. This is an interesting and unusual book, written by an American scholar and published in Holland; a few misprints perhaps betray its continental origin; but the evidence is well documented and supported and there are many interesting (and indeed scurrilous) anecdotes to illuminate a lively story.

Cherrywood School, Birmingham

T. H. McGUFFIE

A. C. Jemolo, *CHURCH AND STATE IN ITALY, 1850 TO 1950* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1960. 344 pp. 30s.), is David Moore's skilful translation of the abridgement (1955) of *Chiesa e stato in Italia negli ultimi cento anni*, which was much discussed when it was first published in Turin in 1948. It is a clear and sensitive exposition by a liberal Catholic of the train of events that has turned modern Italy into a confessional state. Signor Jemolo contends that, by failing to fulfil her constitutional obligation to treat all men of whatever confession, or of no confession, on an equal footing, Italy has buried the *risorgimento*. He notices a reluctance to assert individuality, or to exert oneself for the attainment of an ideal in this economic age, this age of groups, in which modern Italians, like the rest of us, live. He sees more religious conformism, but no more real religion, than in the nineteenth century which paid more regard to general ideas and the legislation to embody them. In the original version, the period from *Il Primato* in 1843 to the battle of Novara in 1849 and that from Novara to the proclamation of the Kingdom each took the same amount of space as the fascist era. In this version these first two periods take a mere 27 pages and the fascist era a quarter of the book. But it is still a history of the relations between Church and state from the neo-Guelphs

to the Concordat and Lateran Treaty of 1929. In addition, practice in relation to schools, marriage, clerical stipends and the public employment of clerical persons, especially discussed in the chapter 'After Fascism', concerns Signor Jemolo throughout. A new chapter on the Republic enables him further to explain the meaning of the term 'confessional state' in its modern Italian context.

Somerville College, Oxford

AGATHA RAMM

THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT: ORIGINS, 1860-1882. By R.

Hostetter. London and New York: D. Van Nostrand. 1958. 444 pp. 49s. Professor Hostetter has published the first volume in what will surely be the best English-language study of Italian socialism. For this task he possesses the chief requirements that one could wish, a commanding intelligence, an ability to master the most tedious sources, a sense of humour, and an absence of parti pris which in this field is notable. In his introductory volume he brings the subject down to the 1880s when for the first time the Italian economy reached the stage of industrialization necessary for the organization of a labour movement. Several currents flowed into Italian socialism in its first uncertain phase. There was the active revolutionary, Pisacane, who was the real hero of these pre-Marxist days; there was Garibaldi with his undirected enthusiasm and his sententious platitudes about human brotherhood; there was Mazzini with his appeal to concord and not vendetta among classes, who opposed the materialism of Marxist socialism as something which could not lead to social justice (he thought Marx 'a man of acute genius . . . moved more by anger, even if just, than by love in his heart'). All these three were more interested in achieving Italian unity than in subverting capitalism. But political unity, perhaps surprisingly, brought a lower standard of life for the workers in Italy, and hence in the 1860s we see the gradual multiplication of mutual aid societies and of strike action on a small scale. This was the substance behind the faith of contending intellectual ideologies.

Bakunin arrived in Italy in the late 1860s, and found there a set of conditions very similar to those in the Russia from which he had drawn his original anarchist principles. It was Bakunin and his popularity in Italy which hindered the development of 'scientific' socialism for another decade. Engels made the tactical mistake of trying to fight a two-way war against both Mazzini and Bakunin. Engels, too, found himself hindered by the fact that Italy's economy was still predominantly agrarian. One result was that Cafiero, the one Italian whom Engels consistently tried to educate, defected appallingly from Marxist orthodoxy. Bakunin in the end killed his own movement in a ludicrous attempt at revolution in 1874, and his flight to Switzerland disguised as a priest carrying a basket of eggs marked the disintegration of the anarchist international. From now on, Italian socialists, disillusioned with romantic activism and endemic insurrection, turned to the idea of forming a mass party. Costa left the anarchists and began the period of 'maximalism', corresponding to the change-over in the Italian economy from an artisan to a modern industrial base. The failure of socialism in this new phase, and its part in the collapse of Italian liberalism, will be the subject of other volumes.

Peterhouse, Cambridge

D. MACK SMITH

BRITISH INTERVENTION IN MALAYA, 1867-1877. By C. Northcote Parkinson. University of Malaya Press: O.U.P. 1960. xx + 384 pp. 45s. During the period covered by this study, the policy of the British Government shifted from that of non-intervention in the internal affairs of the Malay States towards one of 'influence'. The crucial despatch is supposed to be that of 20 September 1873 in which the Governor, Sir Andrew Clarke, was adjured 'to consider whether it would be advisable' to appoint British Residents in any of the States. Clarke seized the opportunity to intensify British activities on the west coast, and his successor, Jervois, went still further. Birch, the first Resident in Perak, was murdered, in consequence of excess of zeal. Some minor military operations followed; the Governor urged the advisability of annexation; but the Secretary of State decided to continue the Residency system on a strictly advisory basis.

So much for events in outline. Of recent years, historians have posed the question: why did British policy change from non-intervention to intervention? D. G. E. Hall, for instance, calls this phase 'The British Forward Movement in Malaya' (*History of South-East Asia*. 1955, pp. 473-8). It appears to this reviewer that the extent and significance of this supposed 'about turn' in British policy have been over-emphasized; but if one accepts the 'about turn' theory, why did this Forward Movement develop in the 1870s? Professor Parkinson writes so pungently and persuasively that he almost manages to disguise that he really has no idea why. He dismisses what he calls 'the authorized version' for intervention, the chaos in the Malay States, but he has nothing to put in its place save a generalized statement that the 'general trend of policy' was—forward. In his introduction he asserts that 'The people who mattered in the Straits Settlements were resolved to establish British influence over the Malay States, thus opening for themselves a new field for investment and trade': the economic motive. It has been said that in English history if one cannot find an explanation for a phenomenon one can safely ascribe it to the rise (or fall) of the middle classes. Similarly, in the history of nineteenth-century imperialism it is pretty safe to ascribe anything to the economic motive. We are told quite a lot about Singapore commercial pressure groups, but not one tittle of evidence is produced to show that these groups exerted any effective influence upon either the Secretary of State or the Governor. Moreover, the Singapore merchants (like their Rangoon or Calcutta counterparts) were not prepared to reinforce their shrill cries for the extension of the Raj by the laying out of hard cash. Expeditions, whether pacific or military, are expensive, but the merchants refused to underwrite them either by direct subvention or through taxation. It has yet to be proved that successive aristocratic Secretaries of State were impressed by the pleas of these covetous cheesepapers.

Nineteenth-century Malaya is not, in general, an inspiring theme. Professor Parkinson writes as a master, but much that he writes about is insignificant and much is squalid. Among the British participants in his narrative, the Governors, Clarke and Jervois, are able officials who utilize their career in Malaya as a spring-board to more highly prized appointments. Swettenham, a Hotspur in his own estimation, appears in these pages as a thruster, an *arriviste*. Only the unhappy Birch is seen to possess dignity and a touch of nobility. The Malay chiefs are uniformly unattractive (through Western eyes), concerned only with furthering their own interests.

It is not surprising that the author takes every opportunity to turn away from his Malayan subject to write about his first love, the Royal Navy.

In the preface we are informed that this work is to form part of a projected History of Malaya in twelve volumes. It is questionable whether such a history on such a scale will have more than a local, parochial interest.

School of Oriental and African Studies, London

HUGH TINKER

DIPLOMATISCHE GESCHICHTE DES ZWEITEN REICHS VON 1871-1918.

VOLS. I-III, 1871-9. By Friedrich Haselmayr. Munich: Bruckmann. 1955-7. 3 vols.: 188 + 161 + 302 pp. DM. 11.80, 11.80, 15.80.

These three volumes are the first half of a diplomatic history of the Hohenzollern Reich; a further three volumes will bring the story to its conclusion in 1918. The author claims that his work is based on more than twenty years' study of the sources, though there is no bibliography—a strange omission in a book of this kind. It is designed, as the author states in his preface to the first volume, for the general reader rather than the specialist. The style is easy and readable. The book has the merits and limitations of a textbook though it is written on a different scale. The general approach, especially to Bismarck, is uncritical. Volume 1 traces Bismarck's diplomacy, after a brief introductory sketch of the historical background, from the Franco-Prussian war to the Congress of Berlin and the estrangement of Russia. Volume 2 follows the extension of his alliances from the Dual Alliance with Austria-Hungary to the inclusion within the system of Italy, Serbia and Roumania; it also deals with Bismarck's colonial policy in 1884-5. Volume 3 traces Bismarck's diplomacy through the Bulgarian crisis of 1885, the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia and the events which finally led to his enforced resignation under the new Emperor William II. The author is at pains to clear Bismarck of the charge, which he suggests has been current in Germany in recent years, of having pursued a policy that led to the war of 1914, and has little difficulty in showing that the post-1870 Bismarck was truly a 'peace Chancellor' whose aim was security not conquest. He does not attempt to answer the question whether even Bismarck could have maintained his system of alliances indefinitely, nor does he come to grips with the deeper problems raised by their complex and often equivocal nature.

A. J. RYDER

BUGANDA AND BRITISH OVERRULE, 1900-1955: TWO STUDIES. By D. A. Low and R. C. Pratt. Oxford University Press. 1960. xv + 373 pp. 48s.

The Agreement of 1900 is Buganda's charter of privileges, the bulwark behind which it has in recent years persistently obstructed the constitutional evolution of the Uganda Protectorate as a whole. Dr. Low, in the first of these studies, gives a detailed and authoritative account of how the Agreement was made, and proceeds to analyse its effects on Buganda's constitution and mode of land tenure. He shows that it effected a political and economic revolution in Buganda, and that the staunch traditionalism subsequently displayed has had as its backbone the self-interest of the beneficiaries of that revolution, the Buganda aristocracy. The enhanced position of this class was won by the diplomacy of the highly capable Buganda leaders with whom Sir Harry Johnston had to negotiate; but their diplomacy was supported by the

C.M.S. missionary, Archdeacon Walker, who acted as translator, and who, in Dr. Low's words, 'certainly seems to have been far less concerned than Johnston was with the claims of peasant occupiers'. Indeed, one may go further than Dr. Low, who is almost certainly mistaken in suggesting that Johnston already intended, when he began the negotiations, to grant estates to Buganda chiefs in private ownership. The only evidence for this is Johnston's casual, vague allusion, by way of precedent, to 'the Makololo claims' in Nyasaland; but, far from having granted land to the Makololo chiefs, he had in fact induced them to cede their own 'sovereignty' to the Crown.

The second study is to some extent a sequel to the first, because it traces the development of the relationship between the British Administration and the Kabaka's Government during the following half-century. But Professor Pratt is less interested in Buganda itself than in comparing it with other British territories in Africa where the policy of indirect rule has been applied. His observations are always judicious and often penetrating, yet if he had not abstracted the politics of indirect rule from their economic and social context, and if his collaboration with Dr. Low had extended beyond writing a joint preface to eliminating overlap and achieving a greater unity of purpose and treatment, the book, good as it is, would have been considerably better.

University of Southampton

A. J. HANNA

BUREAUCRACY, ARISTOCRACY, AND AUTOCRACY. THE PRUSSIAN EXPERIENCE, 1660-1815, by Hans Rosenberg (Harvard University Press: O.U.P. 1958. 247 pp. 40s.) and RESTORATION, REVOLUTION, REACTION: ECONOMICS AND POLITICS IN GERMANY 1815-1871, by Theodore S. Hamerow (Princeton University Press: O.U.P. 1958. 347 pp. 48s.) are two American books which contribute towards the deeper understanding of modern German history. This is largely due to the fact that both authors discard the narrow approach of the political historian. Significant strands of social, economic, administrative and, in Rosenberg's case, also cultural history, are woven into the pattern of the German past. Whereas Hamerow concentrates mainly on the 1848 Revolution in Germany, and stresses the social and economic forces behind it (as Rudolf Stadelmann had already done before him in a German monograph on the subject), Rosenberg's attention is focused on Prussia's gradual drift into political and administrative centralization which, the author argues, helped to pave the way for Nazi totalitarianism. In an interesting postscript Rosenberg points out: 'It is no accident that the new absolute state of the twentieth century triumphed only in societies with a long record of autocratic government.' Both publications are based on extensive and up-to-date research.

FRENCH FREE-THOUGHT FROM GASSENDI TO VOLTAIRE (London: Athlone Press. 1960. ix + 345 pp. 50s.) by J. S. Spink collects in great detail examples of the radical thought of seventeenth-century France, arranged in two parts, —'Gassendi and the "Libertines"' and 'Descartes and the Rationalists'.

La Mettrie is one of the most striking, but also one of the most harshly treated of the writers of the Enlightenment. Aram Vartanian, the author of a thoughtful and stimulating book on *Diderot and Descartes, a Study of Scientific Naturalism in the Enlightenment*, has now given us a critical edition of his famous

pocket classic in **LA METTRIE'S L'HOMME MACHINE: A STUDY IN THE ORIGINS OF AN IDEA** (Princeton University Press: O.U.P. 1960. 264 pp. 48s.). A long introduction of 138 pages sketches La Mettrie's life and indicates in particular his claim to a place in the history of scientific psychology. Though perhaps going a little too far in praise of his work, Mr. Vartanian certainly shows that he deserves more serious treatment than he has often received. A thorough and learned annotation, extending to 50 pages, illustrates the scientific and general background of La Mettrie's thought.

Professor J. T. Lanning's **THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENLIGHTENMENT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF SAN CARLOS DE GUATEMALA** (Cornell University Press. 1956. O.U.P. 1960. xxv + 372 pp. 52s.) exploits to excellent effect the eighteenth-century academic theses written in the University. It was first published in 1956 and appears rather tardily in this country.

A series of essays, originally broadcast lectures, on leading Irish figures of the period of nationalist agitation has been edited by Conor Cruise O'Brien under the title **THE SHAPING OF MODERN IRELAND** (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1960. 201 pp. 25s.). The varied points of view of the contributors, as well as the personalities of the subjects—such men as Redmond, Hyde, Griffith, Kettle, AE, Plunkett, Healy and others—are a guarantee of a lively and readable book. It is interesting to note in the foreword that a Dublin publisher refused the collection on the ground that too many of the contributors came from the distinguished school of Irish history at Trinity College, Dublin.

GOD SPEED THE PLOW: THE COMING OF STEAM CULTIVATION TO GREAT BRITAIN (University of Illinois Press. 1960. 183 pp. \$4.75) by Clark C. Spence is a beautifully produced and splendidly illustrated book which will answer every imaginable question about the methods of steam ploughing, whether embryonic and abortive, or successful, which the student of the history of agricultural engineering might think of posing. It is only a pity that his great love for the intricacies in the story of the evolution of these steam juggernauts has carried the author away from the everyday fields of comparative costs and comparative efficiency of different kinds of equipment which really determined the shape of this mammoth cul-de-sac in agricultural history.

The struggle of Foch and the French generals on the Rhine for the separation of the Rhineland from Germany, during the Peace Conference of 1918-19, is described by Jere Clemens King in **FOCH VERSUS CLEMENCEAU: FRANCE AND GERMAN DISMEMBERMENT 1918-1919** (Harvard University Press: O.U.P. 1960. 137 pp. 32s.). The effect of this detailed study is to enhance the stature of Clemenceau, but of no one else involved in the story.

THE VICTORY CAMPAIGN: THE OPERATIONS IN NORTH-WEST EUROPE 1944-1945 by Colonel C. P. Stacey (Official History of the Canadian Army in the Second World War. Vol. iii. Ottawa: Queen's Printer. 1960. xiii + 770 pp. \$4) completes the official history of the Canadian Army's part in the Second World War and is, like its predecessors, a model of its kind. Carefully

documented, well constructed and readable, it covers not only the course of operations from Normandy to the Baltic, when the Canadians formed the right flank of the Allied Armies, but also—a rarity in such works—the problem of their training and administration. It will be an essential source for all historians of this period of the war.

IN THE INDIVIDUALITY OF PORTUGAL (University of Texas Press. Edinburgh: Nelson. 1959. 248 pp. 30s.) Dan Stanislawski has written an historical geography of Portugal to c. 1200, with many excellent photographs. Historians will consult it for geographical information, rather than for a full analysis of the formation of the Portuguese state.

PIONEERS IN CRIMINOLOGY (London: Stevens. 1960. xi + 402 pp. 45s.) includes seventeen studies of criminologists, beginning with Beccaria and Bentham. The volume is edited, with an introduction, by Hermann Mannheim and concludes with an essay on 'The Historical Development of Criminology' by C. R. Jeffrey.

An interesting miscellany of papers delivered at a conference of Dutch with Oxford historians has been edited by J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossmann under the title **BRITAIN AND THE NETHERLANDS** (London: Chatto and Windus. 1960. 256 pp. 25s.). This title is perhaps a little unfortunate if it leads to the supposition that the book treats of the relations between the two countries: only one paper, by Professor Wernham, does this. To the reader this side of the North Sea the papers on aspects of Dutch history are likely to offer more novelty than those on British subjects.

GENERAL

The publication of Mgr. Hubert Jedin's **ECUMENICAL COUNCILS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH** (Freiburg: Herder; Edinburgh-London: Nelson. 1960. 254 pp. 21s.) is, in view of the papal announcement of 25 January 1959, clearly opportune. This announcement of a coming general council the author says 'has stultified the prophecies of those who looked upon the definition of infallibility as an end to all councils'. Catholicism is not so monarchical that it can dispense, at its more critical moments, with the need for its individuals and communities to draw closer together under the guidance of the Holy See; and the contrast between the projected council and the Councils of Basel and the Vatican alike will be clear to all the historically-minded.

This book is a masterly survey of the General Councils, a theme woven into the life of the Church. Beginning with the eight Ecumenical Councils of Christian antiquity, the book traces the history of the papal councils of the central Middle Ages in a way to show that despite the papacy having reached the climax of spiritual and secular authority, its hegemony was not a domination but rather a great series of definitions and conclusions to difficult and controversial matters. When the author comes to the Conciliar Movement of

the fifteenth century 'the Council above the Pope?' one feels that the canonists themselves could have been more utilized in his account of their inception. He is certainly right in saying that it was the linking of reform with the councils that raised the whole problem of supremacy in the Church; and the legacy of these fifteenth-century councils was the problem of how to reform without destroying the central direction of the Church. It was this, complicated by the religious divisions of Europe, which made Trent so lengthy and so absorbing. One instance: Mgr. Jedin's analysis of the problem of the bishop's duty of residence brings into relief the issues between curialist and diocese. In the chapter on the Vatican Council, the emphasis is rightly laid upon the constructive side. Its decrees have become part of the faith of the Roman Church, a verdict that can be given in spite of the author's critical attitude towards the extreme infallibilists. Naturally a short book has to omit many important questions: such as that of the view taken by the medieval, as opposed to the early, Church of decisions by a majority. The actual problems of seating were also of considerable moment. It is a pity that the procedural side of the councils could find little place in this survey.

All Souls College, Oxford

E. F. JACOB

THE HISTORY OF THE BOROUGH OF HIGH WYCOMBE FROM ITS ORIGINS TO 1880. By L. J. Ashford. xiv + 343 pp. 35s. THE HISTORY OF THE BOROUGH OF HIGH WYCOMBE FROM 1880 TO THE PRESENT DAY. By L. J. Mayes. x + 94 pp. 15s. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1960.

Until the nineteenth century the prosperity of High Wycombe was dependent upon its position as a Buckinghamshire corn-market. Then, almost imperceptibly at first, the craft of chairmaking established itself in the town and grew into the large-scale furniture industry which employed until very recent times virtually the whole local labour force. In the first volume the Senior History Master at the Royal Grammar School has written a very readable history of the ancient borough. Comparatively few records survive for the medieval and Tudor periods, and it is inevitable that their scrappy nature should be reflected to some extent in Mr. Ashford's early chapters. Once however the records become more plentiful the book takes on a wholeness of form and content. His treatment of poor-law and charity administration and the growth of Dissent and its influence on affairs in the seventeenth century is particularly well done. Of great interest, too, is the account of the Borough as a Parliamentary seat in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Although a near pocket-borough, Wycombe had a strong radical tradition born of Dissent, and it was appropriate that it should have long been under the influence of William Petty, Lord Shelburne. At the end of most chapters, translations, transcripts or summaries of key-documents are printed and there are helpful maps.

Continuing the story, Mr. Mayes traces the growth of the borough from an overcrowded, insanitary town of 126 acres and a population of 5000 to its present 7000 acres and 45,000 souls. He is perforce much concerned with sewerage schemes and the growth of public services, but in bringing out the local prejudices and vested interests to which progress always runs counter he is not a dull storyteller. A chapter on public affairs, industrial relations and politics before 1914 is entertaining as well as instructive.

Essex Record Office

F. G. EMMISON

WILLIAM HICKLING PRESCOTT: A MEMORIAL. Edited by Howard F. Cline, C. Harvey Gardiner and Charles Gibson. Duke University Press: C.U.P. 1959. 179 pp. 22s. 6d.

In February 1959 the *Hispanic American Historical Review* commemorated in an anniversary number the centenary of Prescott's death; and this issue has now been republished. It is an admirable and successful undertaking. The preface states that none of the contributors 'adopts an attitude of uncritical adulation', and this objectivity is rigorously adhered to throughout. Indeed at times one feels that austerity of judgement is taken a trifle far. For Prescott was a lovable and courageous man, a Boston brahmin without snobbery or self-satisfaction, who responded to the appalling challenge of near total blindness by writing four of the great works in the great century of New England historical literature. Three essays form the heart of the book: an excellent character-portrait by Professor Humphreys; an intelligent and witty analysis of Prescott's style by Professor Levin; and, with perfect justice, an essay on Pascual de Gayangos, without whose indefatigable labours at Simancas and elsewhere, Prescott could never have written—but who was also so much more than a mere collector of materials. There is also a good critique of the sources used in the *Conquest of Peru* by Professor Lohmann Villena. And to conclude the editors have had the excellent idea of devoting fifty pages to reprints of contemporary reviews of Prescott's works, together with the author's comments. Prescott belonged to an age in which the ideal of history as literature was being superseded by that of history as impartial scholarship. We apply to him far stricter standards than to eighteenth-century historians like William Robertson. Yet he wrote before most of the standard collections of state papers and relations, whose existence we take for granted, had been published. His achievement both as literature and history remains to inspire, and often still to instruct; and this memorial volume is a fitting tribute to his greatness.

J. A. ROBSON

GENTLEMEN OF THE LAW. By Michael Birks. London: Stevens. 1960. xi + 304 pp. 25s.

In this book Mr. Michael Birks, himself a solicitor, has traced the history of his profession in England from the twelfth century to the present day. As he says in his preface, his 'preference is for the individual rather than the group', and his book is not written in the semi-sociological terms that a fashionable social historian might have felt obliged to use. His method is personal and anecdotal, but not excessively so, and he is aware of its drawbacks. Many of these are, however, guarded against by wide and often detailed reading in the sources, some of them well known, but others less so, and some, especially in the eighteenth-century chapters, now used for the first time. Attorneys seem usually to have been more careful to preserve their clients' papers than their own, and diaries such as that of John Cooper, attorney and mayor of Salisbury in the mid-eighteenth century, are as rare as they are illuminating. But less colourful sources are as effectively used, and Mr. Birks moves with a confidence born of professional expertise through the labyrinth of technicalities which surrounds English law and lawyers.

Mr. Birks's book is the first general history of the profession since E. B. V. Christian's *A Short History of Solicitors* (1896). It has many of the qualities of its

predecessor—a good book, on which Holdsworth was content to rely—and may now take its place. It is pleasantly written, though it lacks the elaborate system of notes and references which a professional historian might want. Mr. Birks is not, however, writing for historians, but for solicitors (and their clients) interested in the history of the profession. But even historians will be glad that this book is without any of the archness which professionals writing about themselves are sometimes tempted to indulge in, and which so much irritates the layman. They may also be gratified to see the amount of trouble Mr. Birks has taken with the general historical background to his study, for this is liable to go by the board in studies of this kind. The book is lavishly produced in celebration of its publisher's 150th anniversary, and has a useful index.

Trinity College, Cambridge

R. ROBSON

The growth in the powers and prestige of the professions is one of the most significant features of modern society. The subject, still neglected by historians, is at last receiving the attention it deserves from sociologists. To recent studies of the schoolteachers and the architects, Dr. Brian Abel-Smith has added *A HISTORY OF THE NURSING PROFESSION* (London: Heinemann. 1960. xiv + 290 pp. 30s.). His book is both narrower in its scope and wider in its implications than the title suggests. The story is limited in approach, in time and in place. It concentrates on the structure, recruitment, terms and conditions of service of hospital nursing during this century in England and Wales. Only a fifth of the volume is devoted to the period before 1900, and it is this section which is most open to criticism. Two important nineteenth-century surveys of the nursing arrangements in London hospitals have been overlooked (*British Medical Journal*, 1874, i, and *Guy's Hospital Reports*, Third Series, xvi, 1871). The 'contract system of nursing' receives no mention, though clearly relevant to the changes in hospital administration after 1860. Yet these omissions detract little from the value of the book. In a stimulating essay Dr. Abel-Smith makes an original contribution to our knowledge of how professions are structured, function and change. He shows how the impact of war, the conflicting demands for more nurses and higher standards, and the changing pattern of medical care have influenced the profession's development. He guides us skilfully through the complex activities and confusing rivalries of the professional associations and trades unions which have claimed to represent nurses. His book may be recommended to all who are interested in the recent past and present circumstances of an increasingly influential profession.

University of Leicester

S. W. F. HOLLOWAY

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

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RELIGIOUS DISSENT IN THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE: THE CASE OF NORTH AFRICA

P. R. L. BROWN

All Souls College, Oxford

MODERN STUDENTS of the Roman Empire have come a long way from the enthusiasm of Petrarch—‘For what is all history but the praise of Rome?’ A simple reason for this change in opinion is that we have added to our knowledge of the rise of Rome the sad picture of its decline. We have listened to the Christian writers of the fifth century, to many of whom the disasters of the Roman Empire were but the nemesis of a ‘lust for domination’. To Augustine, the Roman Empire was the result of conquest; and the Roman state had been based upon the exploitation of the conquered. Although he might be prepared to see the will of God in this expansion, he would admit to the sober reflection that: ‘In this little world of a man’s body, is it not better to have a mean stature with an unmoved health, than a huge bigness with intolerable sickness?’¹ We know how some men reacted to the ‘intolerable sickness’ of this bulk. For fifth-century Gaul, we have Salvian; for Africa, we have Commodian. It is hardly surprising that many modern scholars should wish to see, in this mysterious poet, the gloating reaction of a Christian provincial to the Gothic sack of Eternal Rome;

Haec quidem gaudebat, sed tota terra gemebat;
vix tamen adinvenit illi retributio digna.
Luget in aeternum, quae se iactabat aeterna.²

In North Africa, the decline of the Roman Empire has come to be connected with the rise of a dissenting form of Christianity. In 312, the Christian Church in Africa was divided on what seemed a technical point—the treatment of those who had lapsed in the last Great Persecution of Diocletian. Such divisions had occurred before, but, on this occasion, the schism became permanent, and remained permanent, in some areas, until Christianity itself disappeared from Africa. The rise of such a vocal, schismatic church, organized in a masterful fashion by Donatus, the schismatic bishop of Carthage, who gave his name to the movement, has ensured that the history of North Africa in the fourth

¹ Augustine, *de civ. Dei*, III. 10, transl. John Healey, *Everyman’s Library*, 982, p. 83.

² Commodian, *Carmen de duobus populis*, 921 ff., ed. J. Martin, *Corpus Christianorum*, ser. latina, cxxviii, 1960, p. 107. ‘She, indeed, used to rejoice, but the whole earth was groaning. None the less, vengeance has devised for her such disasters, small enough as they are. She who bragged of her eternity, weeps to eternity.’

and fifth centuries should be treated as one of the most dramatic periods of ancient history. We have long known one of the actors in this drama: S. Augustine, as bishop of Hippo, from 396 to 430 devoted much of his time to the attempt to stamp out this schism. More recently we have become aware of the significance of a parallel movement of dissent in Egypt; after the Council of Chalcedon in 451, the Coptic population of Egypt are held to have rejected a form of orthodoxy imposed upon them by the Eastern Emperor, and to have clung tenaciously to their own Monophysite view of the relation between the divine and the human natures in Christ. Again, it appears that a technical point, visible in Gibbon's phrase only to the 'theological microscope', had led to the alienation of a whole province.

The tragedy of this situation was felt, and forcibly expressed, by the Roman Emperors. Since the conversion of Constantine in 312 they had thought of themselves as the one authority which could ensure the unity of the Christian Church within their Christian Empire. It was a claim which few of them refrained from attempting to put into practice; and it was a claim which was ostentatiously rejected by both the Donatist Church in Africa and by the Coptic Church in Egypt. As the Emperor Honorius wrote to the bishops assembled at the conference of Carthage in 411: 'The Donatists . . . discolour Africa, that is, the greatest portion of our kingdom and faithfully adhering to us in all its secular obligations, by a vain error and a superfluous dissension.' It has been suggested, however, in recent studies of Roman Africa, that the phenomenon of Donatism cannot be explained in purely religious terms as a 'superfluous dissension'; that a schism which began, ostensibly, as a quarrel between bishops on the application of a traditional penitential discipline to the see of Carthage, grew into a nucleus of social and political discontent. The foundation in Africa of a church overtly dedicated to upholding a strict 'purity' and appealing above all to the cult of the martyrs, has come to be appreciated no longer as a religious freak—in Augustine's pungent phrase, as frogs sitting in a pond and croaking 'We are the only Christians!—but as a 'Movement of Protest in Roman North Africa'. So it becomes part of our attempt to understand the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

The choice of Africa for such exhaustive studies as those of Dr. Frend, Professor Courtois and Professor Brisson is hardly fortuitous.³ It is due in part to the fact that this province, which was the centre of Christian Latin literature and the home of Augustine, has also been the scene of the most recent and impressive advances of the 'archæological revolution'. What Collingwood had said of the early days of Roman archæology in other provinces—'It was a recently established and exciting fact that by excavation you could reconstruct the history of Roman sites not

³ W. H. C. Frend, *The Donatist Church, a movement of protest in Roman North Africa*, 1952. Chr. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique*, 1955. J. P. Brisson, *Autonomisme et christianisme dans l'Afrique romaine de Septime Sévère à l'invasion vandale*, 1958.

mentioned in any authority and of events in Roman history not mentioned in any book'⁴—has been shown to be particularly true of Roman North Africa. The archaeologists have done nothing less than discover another Africa: the Africa of the inland plateau, stretching to the Aures Mountains and the Sahara—a new world which had hitherto been obscured by the Africa of literature, dominated by Carthage and by the Roman cities of the Mediterranean seaboard. The archaeological evidence for the strength and persistence of Donatism in Southern Numidia has made possible Dr. Frend's book; and the discovery of the remains of a sub-Roman civilization in Mauretania has ensured that the centre of interest in Professor Courtois' treatment of the Vandals in Africa should lie no longer exclusively in the 'Fourth Punic War', waged by the fleets of Genseric from Carthage, but in this hinterland, which might be called the 'Forgotten Africa'.

The Roman Empire is 'on trial' in these books on its African provinces; and our interest in its shortcomings is greatly increased by our knowledge of the impending 'judgement of history'—the conquest of Africa by the Muslims, and its consequent loss, not only to Rome, but to Christianity and Europe. In no other province is the drama of the 'end of the ancient world' both so well documented and, to most of us, so conclusively terminated as by the loss of Roman, Christian Africa to Islam.

All three books lend weight to the paradox sensed by Hilaire Belloc as a visitor to modern Algeria: 'It is thoroughly our own. The race that has inhabited it from its origin and still inhabits it is our race; its climate and situation are ours; it is at the furthest limit from Asia; it is an opposing shore of our inland sea; it links Sicily to Spain . . . : yet even in the few centuries of written history foreign gods have twice been worshipped there and foreign rulers have twice held it for such long spaces of time that twice its nature has been forgotten.'⁵

In *The Donatist Church*, Dr. Frend makes this problem clear, and goes into its implications thoroughly. The fact that North Africa no longer belongs, as Hilaire Belloc thought it should, to the Catholic Mediterranean is, perhaps, the central theme of his book. The way in which he treats this theme is a tribute to our growing awareness of the continuity between ancient and medieval history: arbitrary divisions between the two periods can only prevent us from understanding a process as profound as this loss of the southern Mediterranean. His book is a tribute, also, to the continued relevance of the problems raised by the two greatest scholars of the social and economic history of the two ages—by Pirenne in his *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, and by Rostovtzeff in his *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*.⁶

⁴ R. G. Collingwood, *An Autobiography*, 1939 (Pelican Books, 1944, p. 58).

⁵ Hilaire Belloc, *Esto Perpetua: Algerian studies and impressions*, 1906, p. 4.

⁶ Henri Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, transl. by B. Miall, ed. by J. Pirenne, 1939; M. I. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, 1926: 2nd ed. revised by P. M. Fraser, 1957.

The fact that Dr. Frend should have turned to two social and economic historians to explain the rise of a church and the loss of a Roman province is an indication of the progress of our attitude to history since Gibbon. Both modern writers have shown, brilliantly and conclusively, that the painful reconstruction of social and economic change is not mere 'talk of the stock of bulls', but is, perhaps, the key to the 'style' of two whole civilizations—of the ancient world and of the Middle Ages.

Pirenne taught us to look to the Mediterranean. As long as the unity of this inland sea was preserved, the wealth and culture of the ancient world survived; when this unity was broken, and when the Mediterranean ceased to belong to the Christian rulers of Europe, the Middle Ages had come. Thus, it was the rise of Islam, as a hostile and exclusive power along the southern shores of this Christian, Roman lake, which destroyed the unity of the ancient world. Mohammed had done what the northern barbarians had not wished to do; and Charlemagne, forced by the Islamic blockade of the South to turn to the land-locked, agrarian economy of the Frankish North, became, *malgré lui*, the 'founder of the Middle Ages'.

Rostovtzeff reached a very different conclusion. He looked to the Graeco-Roman cities, which, in the case of Africa, depended upon the Mediterranean. These were the guardians of ancient civilization; when they were victimized and deserted, this ancient civilization could no longer subsist. This collapse of the cities took place as early as the third century A.D. It was the dénouement of the relations between the parasitic guardians of an upper-class urban culture and the under-Romanized and dangerously under-privileged countryside on which these cities had depended. In describing this 'silent and brutal revolution', Rostovtzeff, an emigré from Soviet Russia, claimed to have seen more clearly than Trotsky and the city-bound Marxist orthodoxy: far from being content to be the 'packhorses of civilization', the peasantry of the third century were the destroyers of this urban world. As soldiers in the Roman army, they took advantage of the military anarchy of that age to victimize the upper classes of the towns—by looting, executions and by a system of arbitrary levies which crippled the finely-balanced economy on which the civilization of the Roman towns had depended. A wealthy and cultivated 'commonwealth of cities' had been replaced, by the end of that century, by a military despotism whose oriental trappings pandered to the tastes of the lower classes of the provinces.

In Africa, the revolution had been particularly drastic. In 238 A.D., a Numidian legion had suppressed with extraordinary savagery a revolt of the upper classes of Africa Proconsularis. This was only the beginning of the rise of the hinterland—and especially of Numidia—at the expense of the Roman cities of the coast. According to Dr. Frend, the legacy of this revolution was the resistance of the Numidian Church of Donatus to

the Catholic Christianity of the Emperor and of the Romanized governing-class of the towns.

Thus Dr. Frend and Rostovtzeff had offered an explanation for the problem of the fate of the Mediterranean, posed acutely by Pirenne. In Africa, at least, the hinterland of the Mediterranean had been lost to Roman civilization, and the hold of this civilization on the seaboard had been tragically weakened as early as the third century. Far from being a sudden and violent rupture, the rise of Islam only made irreversible this shift of the balance of power to the South—away from the Roman Mediterranean. By the eighth century the process is completed: the maritime world of Carthage and Alexandria has given way to a world whose power was exercised from inland cities—from Kairouan, Cairo and Damascus—and whose religion was orientated away from Rome and Constantinople to Mecca.

The novelty of Dr. Frend's approach is his insistence on linking this social revolution with the rise of Christianity. For him, the most obvious symptom of this 'end of the ancient world' in North Africa is not a political but a religious movement. Such an interpretation sees in the diffusion of Christianity more than a random and uncertain process; in Africa and Egypt the rise of Christianity is intimately connected with a concrete event—the crisis of the pagan towns. The result of this change is the growth of schismatic churches in each province—the Donatist Church in Africa and the Coptic Church of Egypt. Thus the rise of Islam is only the culmination of a process started as early as the fourth century; and Mohammed only made final the religious separation of the Catholic and the schismatic shores of the Mediterranean.

This interpretation represents a revolution in our attitude to the rôle of Christianity in the Later Roman Empire; and in a recent article Dr. Frend has put forward a thoroughgoing statement of this view, which connects the problem of the rise of Christianity with an interpretation of the social crisis of the third century.⁷ Thus, the rise of Christianity has come to be regarded as one of the symptoms of that profound revolution which, in the third and fourth centuries, had sapped not only the religious, but the social and political foundations of the ancient world.

The wish to connect the rise of Christianity in some way with an increased tension between the central government of the Roman Empire and the local traditions of its provinces is not of recent origin; Dr. Frend has attempted only to explain the roots of this situation in the crucial years at the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth centuries. Many years ago Sir Llewellyn Woodward, in his *Christianity and Nationalism in the Later Roman Empire*,⁸ had argued that the stubborn attachment of whole populations to heresy and schism could not be

⁷ W. H. C. Frend, 'The Failure of the Persecutions in the Roman Empire', *Past and Present* No. 16, Nov. 1959, pp. 10–29.

⁸ E. L. Woodward, *Christianity and Nationalism in the Later Roman Empire*, 1916.

explained merely in religious terms. His acute sense of the mingling of religious and extra-religious factors in the mentality of the Late Roman Christians led him to suggest that heresies such as Monophysitism in Egypt were an expression of the prejudices of the Coptic-speaking Egyptian provincials against the orthodoxy of their Greek administrators. The Copts got a Christianity they had made themselves; they set up a church ruled from Alexandria and using a language different from that of the Greeks; and anathematized 'the tyrant of Byzantium and the orthodox who are his slaves'. They were prepared to welcome the small Arab force of 'Amr rather than sacrifice their 'national' Christianity to the Greeks.

In a certain sense, there is nothing new in this emphasis on extra-religious factors in the rise of the great heresies. It springs, ultimately, from discontent with a purely theological interpretation of ecclesiastical history: the boundaries between 'orthodoxy' and 'heresy' had seemed fixed, as a matter of dogma; they were not to be explored—much less blurred—by the historian. The first scholar to set out to form his own opinion on the factors underlying these sectarian alignments between 'heresy' and 'orthodoxy' deserves to be called the 'Father of Later Roman History': he is neither the Jansenist scholar, Tillemont, nor the philosophic historian, Gibbon—he is the German pietist, Gottfrid Arnold. His *Impartial Historical Examination of Churches and Heretics*, published in 1699, is, in many ways, a very modern book.⁹ His dislike of all established ecclesiastical bodies led him to ask of the fourth century questions which are still acutely relevant: above all, how was it that, in the centuries after Constantine, more Christians were persecuted under Christian Emperors as 'heretics' than had been persecuted as Christians by the pagans? He finds the answer in a striking fashion: 'orthodoxy' is not a dogma, it is an ecclesiastical vested interest—the *Cleresei*—whose power, prepared since post-Apostolic times, was fully recognized and increased, in return for empty flattery, by Constantine. With such a perspective, a completely new ecclesiastical history is possible. What is at stake is no longer a doctrine (a finespun rationalization) but something more concrete and more readily apprehended by an historian—a system, the *Cleresei*, and the movements of protest which this system provoked, the so-called 'heresies'. The high-road of ecclesiastical history is secularized: the orthodox leaders appear no longer as the defenders of truth, but as the creators of a tyrannous system which outlives them; only the 'heretics' are pure.

We have at last done justice to this important insight, but in a way which Arnold would have repudiated. Instead of starting at the top, as he did, we have filled in the bottom: the 'heresies', prized by Arnold as the last resort of religious purity, are now being regarded as extra-religious systems. Indeed, we are even tempted to regard the local

⁹ Gottfrid Arnold, *Unparteyische Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie von Anfang des Neuen Testaments bis auf das Jahr Christi*, 1688. Frankfurt am Mayn, 1699, I.

dissenting churches as the expression *par excellence*, in a Christianized Empire, of secular grievances—whether 'social' or 'nationalistic'.

What we have lost in our search for 'pure religion' in the Later Roman Empire, we have gained in the widening of our historical sympathies. We like to believe, with Pascal, that '*à mesure qu'on a plus d'esprit on trouve plus des hommes originaux*'. Indeed, we have rescued half of the ecclesiastical history of the period—the origin and development of the great heretical churches—from the grotesque obscurity to which it had been condemned by the ecclesiastical Billingsgate of a none too fastidious age of controversy. We no longer seek to interpret the careers of the great heresiarchs—Donatus of Carthage and the Monophysite Patriarchs of Alexandria—in terms of personal ambition. For Africa, scholars have agreed to see in the Donatist Church of the 'just who suffer persecution and do not persecute', something more than the pungent caricature sketched with such art by Augustine; it can be accepted, and welcomed, as standing for some principle of protest against the shortcomings of an Empire whose demands were arbitrary and whose vaunted order was maintained by a penal code of quite appalling brutality.¹⁰

Such a view also carries with it a positive judgement on the cultural history of the Later Roman provinces such as Gibbon could not have arrived at. Quoting Longinus, he had regretted the stultifying uniformity which resulted from the constant imposition on the citizens of the Roman world of a shallow classical culture: it is the nearest he came to the nineteenth-century idea of cultural 'decadence'.¹¹ Today, however, we are able to see the cultural history of the end of the Roman Empire in terms of local revivals; we have learnt in this country to appreciate the most beautiful of these—the revival of Celtic art; and in the southern and eastern Mediterranean similar cultural revivals are being associated with the rise of local forms of Christianity. The Monophysite Church in Egypt adopted a native liturgy and produced a native literature; and in Africa the rise of the Donatist Church is held to have coincided with a revival of Berber art.¹²

This view can, of course, be appreciated in widely different ways. Not every scholar has shown the same enthusiasm for the 'national-social'

¹⁰ See Augustine, *Contra epistolam Parmeniani*, I, 8, 13: CSEL li, p. 34: *alioquin si, quisquis ab imperatore vel a iudicibus ab eo missis poenas luit, continuo martyr est, omnes carceres martyribus pleni sunt, omnes catenae iudicariae martyres trahunt, in omnibus metallis martyres aerumnosi sunt, in omnes insulas martyres deportantur, in omnibus poenalibus locis iuridico gladio martyres feriuntur, omnes ad bestias martyres subriguntur aut iussionibus iudicium vivi ignibus concremantur.*

A similar attempt has been made to see in the Pelagian heresy the inspiration of a movement of political reform which precipitated the end of Roman rule in Britain—see J. N. L. Myres, 'Pelagius and the End of Roman Rule in Britain', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 50, 1900, pp. 21–36. This ingenious, though fanciful, interpretation assumes that Pelagius' attack on the Augustinian system, which emphasized the unlimited 'grace'—*gratia*—of an omnipotent God, can be regarded as the reflection—or, perhaps, as the focusing-point—of criticisms of the uncontrolled 'graft'—*gratia*—of the totalitarian Roman Empire.

¹¹ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, Ch. ii, ed. Bury, 1896, I, p. 58.

¹² W. H. C. Frend, 'The Revival of Berber Art', *Antiquity*, December 1942, pp. 342–52.

revolt of the schismatic churches. Thus Ernst Stein, an émigré from the National-Socialist régime in Germany, could regard the Monophysite Church in Egypt as an entirely negative, disruptive force. He criticized an Emperor such as Zeno (474-91) for having adopted a policy of appeasement in his relations with this 'nationalist' movement, whose manipulation of social grievances and development of the techniques of religious terrorism were a challenge to the civilization of a universal, Catholic Empire.¹³

In the case of North Africa, the result of the acceptance of this interpretation has been that two views of the rôle of Christianity in the Later Roman Empire have come to coexist where previously there had been one. There is the view of Eusebius, Optatus of Milevis and Augustine. The Emperors had given their sanction to the universal mission of the Catholic Church; in the fourth century, both Church and Empire stand for values held to be universal throughout the Mediterranean; in the Middle Ages, the Catholic Church is the continuator of this universal Roman civilization. To this view has been added a growing awareness of the strength and originality of another form of Christianity: the religion of Donatus, who had asked 'What has the Emperor to do with the Church?' This religion is held to express the aspirations of a local Christian church, representing the resistance of one group to an alien civilization; it formulated its resistance in rejecting as impure the universal Catholic Church and in maintaining all that was most intransigent in the Early Church—the cult of the martyrs, martyrs who could be made under both a pagan and a Christian Roman government.

These appear as two very different forms of Christianity; and it will long remain the task of the historian to decide to what extent they were mutually exclusive in the fourth century. To what extent did Donatism really represent an exclusive, local tradition of resistance, and so can be treated as a symptom of the break-up of the parasitic bulk of the Roman Empire; and to what extent has this emphasis on what was local and exclusive in Donatism obscured its links with the Christian Church as a whole? It may perhaps be shown that Donatism—for all its local power—was part of a wider revolution, provoked by the rise of Christianity, in the Latin world; and that the history of this African schism is relevant not only to the rise of Islam in the south, but to the development of medieval Latin Catholicism in the north.

In its enthusiastic reconstruction of the local roots of Donatism, Dr. Frend's book is a reminder of the progress made, over the past century, by French scholarship in Algeria. For the historian, the most striking contribution of this tradition of regional scholarship has been the tendency to treat North African history as a continuous process which admits no sharp and arbitrary division between the ancient world and the Islamic Middle Ages. Thus Dr. Frend not only makes use of our knowledge, derived from archæology, of what was local and continuous

¹³ See esp. Ernst Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, 1949, pp. 34-6.

—the churches, gravestones, olive-presses and martyrs' shrines of Numidia; he has arranged this knowledge around a permanent theme in African history—Donatism is only a phase in the religious history of that impermeable bedrock of African particularism, the Berber people. 'Is Donatism', he asks, 'part of a continuous native tradition as fundamentally unchanged as the Berbers in the outline of their daily life?' ¹⁴

Seen in such a light, those features of Donatism which so shocked Augustine are made to form part of an impressive continuum of Berber history. The Circumcellions are the precursors of the *marabouts*; and their leader, the notorious Optatus of Timgad—to Augustine, the 'ten-year groan of Africa'—foreshadows the Kharedjite ruler of the tenth century, Abu Aziz. This first wakening of the religious fervour of the Maghreb showed that 'North Africa' could become 'Berbery'.

But while recognizing the attraction of this theory, it is important to draw attention to a bias implicit in the search for continuity in every period of African history. Our greatest advances have been made, of late, under the guiding-star of an appreciation of the continuous strength of particular, local traditions; and what is continuous we like to regard as being what is peculiar to Africa. Such an emphasis is one-sided. It fails to do justice to the other factor in North African history. In both the Later Roman and the Islamic periods, the province was part of a Mediterranean-wide Empire, claiming official allegiance to a universal and exclusive religion. Thus the 'universal' and the 'particular' have had to coexist in Africa; they can also be seen to interact. Modern Algerian sociology has, on the whole, failed to analyse this interaction. Early, it discovered the Berbers, and has continued to treat them as the 'real', because permanent, Africans. It has studied most fully the non-Islamic or sub-Islamic elements in Berber law and religion; and it has assumed, too readily, that Islam is the 'façade' and that the Berbers, least affected by this universal and, superficially, exclusive faith, are the 'reality' in North African life.¹⁵ There is little wonder that so convincing a model should have been adopted and applied, somewhat ruthlessly, by scholars wishing to understand the religious dislocation of Roman Africa: thus, the 'Roman' Catholicism of Augustine was the 'façade' and Donatism the 'reality' in the Berber province of Numidia.

But, if such an emphasis is incomplete for modern Algeria, it is all the more so for Roman North Africa. We are not faced with the choice between 'façade' and 'reality'. It is the combination of great local power with a 'universal' Latin culture and a Christian religion of 'universal' validity which is the most striking feature of the Donatist predominance in Africa. Take the position of Optatus of Timgad, the dictator of the Numidian Donatist movement. The city from which he

¹⁴ Frend, *op. cit.*, p. xvi.

¹⁵ J. Berque, 'Cent vingt-cinq ans de sociologie maghrébine', *Annales*, 11e année, No. 3, 1956, pp. 296-324.

ruled is far from being a Berber holy place, with Optatus himself representing an exclusively native element. His control of Numidian Donatism cannot be ascribed solely to his alliance with the Circumcellions and to the sinister toadyism which marks his relations with the Moorish count Gildo; it could have been derived in part from the fact that Timgad was a Roman city. This ensured that the see in which he had planted his enormous cathedral, dedicated, in Latin, to his own glory, had enjoyed the incalculable prestige of being a centre of Roman civilization in an under-urbanized area, sharing a long tradition of Roman culture and municipal life, whose resilience is shown not only by many inscriptions of the third century but by the famous municipal *Album* of 364, with its list of patrons, civic officers, pagan priests and officials.¹⁶

The danger of a one-sided emphasis on the local roots of Donatism among the Berbers is that, in interpreting the ecclesiastical history of the fourth century, we may be led to look in the wrong direction. By insisting on seeing in concrete terms the religious tensions between a Christian Church and a Christian Emperor, we may forget that this tension was, in the first instance, a tension common to much of the Christian Church, and so required no local model of discontent to explain its appearance and persistence in the Latin world.

The conversion of Constantine had led to sufficient confusion, and the demands of the Imperial government continued to be sufficiently unpopular in other provinces, to provoke reactions reminiscent of extreme Donatism. We should not think, for instance, of looking in the works of the pagan Ammianus Marcellinus for examples of the cult of the martyrs as an expression of popular discontent; but it is there, of all places, that we learn that, in Milan, three leading officials, unjustly executed by the Emperor Valentinian, were revered as martyrs at a spot called *Ad Innocentes*, and that this Emperor had been deterred from ordering the execution of whole town-councils in Pannonia for fear of provoking a similar reaction.¹⁷ Nor should this surprise us; if we are surprised, it is because we live in a very law-abiding country, and assume, too readily, that only an exceptional degree of social or ethnic tension could provoke the violent religious protests which we associate with these episodes as with Donatism.

An attitude to the Emperor as intransigent as that of the Donatists is by no means peculiar to Africa. The attempt of Constantius II to impose his brand of orthodoxy on men such as Hilary of Poitiers and Lucifer of Cagliari led to protests which, in their proclaimed allegiance to the integrity of the 'church of the martyrs', and, also, in the remarkable vehemence of their language, outdid the most swinging manifestos of the Donatists. Hilary could write to the Emperor:

¹⁶ See M. Leglay, 'La vie intellectuelle d'une cité africaine des confins de l'Aurès', *Hommages à Léon Hermann*, Collection Latomus, xliv, 1960, pp. 485-91.

¹⁷ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae*, xxvii, 7, 5, 6 ed. Clark, pp. 433/4.

I proclaim to you, Constantius, what I would have spoken to Nero, what Decius and Maximian would have heard from me: you are fighting against God, you vent your wrath against the Church, you persecute the saints, you hate the preachers of Christ, you take away religion; you are a usurper, not only of things human, but of things divine;¹⁸

and the intransigence of Lucifer of Cagliari led to the foundation of small schismatic communities in Sardinia, Rome and in many other towns of the Empire.¹⁹

Such protests cannot be compared, in their results, with Donatism; but neither protest should be treated in isolation from the other. The 'foreign policy' of the Donatists, as analysed by Professor Brisson, does not add up to much;²⁰ but this need not mean that the Donatist leaders were unaware of sharing with elements of Christianity outside Africa a similar attitude to the State and to the integrity of the Church. We know that a cultured Donatist had read the letters of Hilary castigating the tame collaboration of the Eastern churches under Constantius II;²¹ and a man such as Tyconius, for what little we know of him, may be the representative of a frame of mind which saw the place of Africa in the Christian world not in terms of a dichotomy between 'separatism' and 'universalism', but as a microcosm whose views would, sooner or later, be shared by the macrocosm—'What has been done in Africa', he wrote, 'must appear to the whole world.'²²

Perhaps the search for a concrete basis of local discontent has been carried too far. To look for 'nationalism' of any sort in the Later Roman Empire would seem an anachronism. It involves a judgement on the thought-world of the Late Roman Christians which, however necessary and desirable it is to recover this world, is far from certain. Anachronism, however, is an easy ghost with which to frighten historians; and most treatments of North Africa have been singularly free from the temptation to import modern notions into a history which is so continuous and, apparently, self-explanatory. A more sophisticated danger lies in the adoption of 'models' of the social and ethnic structure of a province; models which are, in themselves, too simple to explain the vagaries of religious dissent.

In a recent article, Professor A. H. M. Jones has come to an entirely negative conclusion on the evidence presented by Sir Llewellyn Woodward, Dr. Frend and Ernst Stein, among others, for the assumed 'social' and 'national' basis of the great heresies and schisms.²³ His attack on the simplicity of this thesis is the most interesting part in his treatment. The emphasis on monolithic cleavages cannot find room for the oddities of religious dissent. Augustine, for instance, found in his own diocese—in

¹⁸ Hilary, *Liber contra Constantium*, 7: PL 10, 583.

¹⁹ G. Krüger, *Lucifer Bischof von Cagliari u. das Schisma d. Luciferianer*, 1886.

²⁰ Brisson, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 205–18.

²¹ Augustine, *Ep.* 93, vi, 21, to Vincentius of Cartennae, CSEL xxxiv, p. 467.

²² T. Hahn, *Tyconius—Studien*, 1900, p. 85.

²³ A. H. M. Jones, 'Were the ancient heresies national or social movements in disguise?' *Journal of Theological Studies*, new series, X, 2, October 1959, pp. 280–95.

a countryside noted for its aggressive Donatism—a Berber village occupied by a sect which had succeeded for a long time in imitating the continence of Abel.²⁴ Nor were the towns any more homogeneous; in Carthage, a sect dedicated to the memory of Tertullian survived into the fifth century.²⁵ But these are trifles; what matters most is that those who look for a social basis of discontent have to face the fact that, of all the subjects studied by an historian, the relation of the parts of a society—whether of classes or areas—to each other is the subject in which certainty is least possible, and a false certainty most misleading.

Thus our knowledge of the urbanization of the Later Roman Empire has led to a modification and, for certain areas, to a rejection of Rostovtzeff's interpretation of the crisis of the third century, and of the state of the towns resulting from this crisis.²⁶ The evidence varies from province to province. In Italy, urbanization seems to continue at the expense of the smaller towns: the population of Rome remained at a high level;²⁷ while the structure of a town such as Ostia may have changed rather than the town itself decayed.²⁸ In Africa, the collection of a surprising number of inscriptions which proclaim the continued resilience of many Roman towns has been regarded as 'one of the most interesting facts revealed by the epigraphy of North Africa'.²⁹

Such evidence is, inevitably, fragmentary and ambiguous. It should be noted, however, that the most recent studies of the life of the towns in this period have emphasized not so much their economic as their cultural position in Later Roman society.³⁰ The balance between towns and countryside cannot be seen in purely quantitative terms of wealth and population; in the culture of the period, the towns are still separated from the countryside by the immeasurable, qualitative, gap between civilization and its absence.

A Christianity which rejected the towns is improbable; and the fact that the Donatist movement continued, throughout the fourth century, to be led from Roman centres such as Carthage, Cirta and Timgad seems to suggest that such a conscious rejection did not take place. In Egypt, however, it has been customary to regard monasticism as an entirely non-urban movement: the hermits are said to have shunned both the subtleties of the urban theologians and the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the urban bishops.³¹ This may not be the case. There are many examples of close relations between these monastic communities

²⁴ Augustine, *De haeresibus*, 87: PL 42, 47.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 86, PL 42, 46.

²⁶ See esp. Santo Mazzarino, *Aspetti sociali del quarto secolo*, 1951, Ch. V, pp. 217–69.

²⁷ A. Chastagnol, 'Le ravitaillement de Rome en viande au iv^e siècle', *Revue historique*, 210, 1953, pp. 13–22.

²⁸ A. P. Fevrier, 'Ostie et Porto à la fin de l'Antiquité: topographie religieuse et vie sociale', *Méл. d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, lxx, 1957–8, pp. 295–330; but cf. Russell Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, 1960.

²⁹ B. H. Warmington, *The North African Provinces from Diocletian to the Vandal Conquest*, 1954, p. 37.

³⁰ E.g. P. Petit, *Libanius et la vie municipale d'Antioche au iv^e siècle*, 1951.

³¹ Frend, *art. cit.* p. 23: For this view see esp. Reitzenstein, *Historia monachorum u. Historia Lausiacae*, Texte u. Untersuchungen, 1916; K. Heussi, *Der Ursprung des Mönchtums*, 1936.

and the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Egyptian Church; and the monastic movement was so effective, in the ecclesiastical politics of the East, because it was so well led by the ecclesiastical leaders—that is, by the bishops in the towns, of whom the patriarch of Alexandria was the greatest.³²

Indeed, a view which sees in the survival of a great schismatic church the expression of inevitable loyalties does not do sufficient justice to the rôle of leadership and to the commonplaces of ecclesiastical administration. What is particularly true of the 'Empire' of the patriarch of Alexandria is true also of the organization of the African Church. The most striking feature of this is the combination of an extraordinarily high number of bishops—at the Conference of 411 the Donatists had 284 bishops and the Catholics 286—with the unchallenged hegemony of a single leader—for instance, of the successive primates of Carthage, both Catholic and Donatist—Cyprian, Donatus 'Prince of Tyre', Primian and Aurelius. This is not surprising: as bishops of small townships and villages, the majority of the rank and file had no wish to quarrel with such leaders. Such massive acquiescence gives an impression of solidarity which could be interpreted as the expression of some more forceful loyalty. In fact, the local bishops had already got what they most appreciated; they were the masters of their small worlds and so virtually irremovable. Their position is a tribute to the cohesion of the African villages,³³ but hardly to their animus against the religion of the towns. Both sides experienced the limited anarchism of these little men. The Catholic Council regretted that, once a priest had installed himself as the bishop of a village, there was no getting rid of him—'they lord it, like a usurper in his fortress'.³⁴ And the cohesion of these small communities could cut either way. The Catholics found that Donatist villages were quite prepared to remain loyal to their new masters as long as they were provided with a bishop: this happened at Tucca, a small town in the Donatist diocese of Milevis, which had hitherto had to be content with a priest.³⁵

By pointing to such a mundane problem as the passivity of a country clergy—a phenomenon too easily mistaken for a deeply-motivated tenacity—we do not intend to replace one unduly simple model by another. It is sufficient to have drawn attention to some of the weak points of a view which sees in the rise and persistence of a schismatic church such as Donatism, the expression of deeper forces of disintegration. Such a view forms part of an emphasis which has affected deeply our approach to the Later Roman Empire in general. We talk of the 'break up' of the Later Roman Empire; and in recent years we have

³² H. Bacht, 'Die Rolle d. orientalischen Mönchtums in d. kirchenpolitischen Auseinandersetzungen um Chalkedon' (431–519), *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, II, 1953, pp. 193–314.

³³ For the good effects on the morale of a village of the establishment of a church and a priest, see John Chrysostom, *Hom. in Act. Apost.*, 18, 4 and 5: PG 60, 147.

³⁴ *Concilium Carthaginense*, III, c. 42: now in C. G. Goldaraz, *Los concilios de Cartago de un codice Soriense: Reconstrucion*, 1960, p. 84.

³⁵ *Gesta Collationis Carthaginensis*, I, 65 and 130: PL 11, 1274–5 and 1298.

increased our knowledge of this period by our insistence on dissecting the sinister process of fragmentation which we choose to see in every aspect of Later Roman life. At the top, we see conflicts between a Christian Imperial administration and the selfish isolationism of a predominantly pagan senatorial class of landowners;³⁶ at the bottom, in Salvian's Gaul of the fifth century, social discontent prepared even to welcome the barbarians;³⁷ and in Egypt, the uncomprehending localism of the Coptic peasants, expressed in a charming fairy-tale which saw in the battle of Adrianople and the Gothic invasions, nothing more than a distant single combat: 'When the Emperor Theodosius saw a great and powerful barbarian bearing down upon him, he was afraid, and fled; and we have been told that the barbarian ran through all the Roman people, running hither and thither, seeking the Emperor with great violence!'³⁸ The most obvious example of the working of these centrifugal forces—the lasting division between East and West—has been treated not merely as the result of a political division of the Empire between the sons of Theodosius I, but as the symptom of this process of social and cultural fragmentation.³⁹

In this picture dominated by centrifugal forces, we have left very little room for a centripetal reaction. Yet this same period saw not only the Imperial reconquest of Justinian, but the growth in Gaul and Italy of a universal Catholic Church, whose bishops remained conscious of the universal links of Latin culture and senatorial rank. These men, or their predecessors, did not live—and live well—in a disintegrating world without some reaction. Thus the only trace of 'nationalism' in the incident of the rebellion of Count Gildo is not to be found in the limited aspirations of that military adventurer, but in the tirade of Claudian, the poet of the Roman Senate, who poured scorn on the *regnum Bocchi*—the petty native principality—which had dared to oppose the universal mission of Rome.⁴⁰ At least this senatorial class, the continued influence and cohesion of which we are beginning to appreciate more fully,⁴¹ was aware that the values of a universal civilization were at stake. The reflection of this concern found its way into the prayers of the Roman Church. The Church was to enjoy its 'liberty' not only in the strictly Christian sense of asserting its freedom from servitude to the Devil, but in a Roman sense—in the freedom to enjoy a stable order: hence the

³⁶ J. A. McGahey, Jr., 'Quintus Aurelius Symmachus and the Senatorial Aristocracy of the West', Dissertation of the University of Chicago, 1942. A. Alföldi, *A Conflict of Ideas in the Later Roman Empire, the clash between the Senate and Valentinian I*, transl. H. Mattingly, 1952.

³⁷ E. A. Thompson, 'Peasant Revolts in Later Roman Gaul and Spain', *Past and Present*, No. 2, 1952, pp. 11–21.

³⁸ R. Rémond, 'Problèmes militaires en Egypte et dans l'Empire romain à la fin du iv^e siècle', *Revue historique*, 213, 1955, pp. 21–38 quoted on p. 33.

³⁹ E. Demougeot, *De l'unité à la division de l'Empire romain*, Paris, 1951.

⁴⁰ Claudian, *de bello Gildonico*, I. 94, ed. M. Platnauer, Loeb I, p. 104.

⁴¹ For Gaul: K. Strohacker, *Der senatorische Adel im spätantiken Gallien*, 1948.

For Italy: A. D. Momigliano, 'Cassiodorus and the Italian Culture of his Time', *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, xli, 1955, pp. 207–245; and 'Gli Anicii e la storiografia latina del vio secolo d.c.', *Acc. Lincei*, anno ccclii, 1956, viii, *Rendiconti*, Vol. xi, fasc. 11–12, pp. 279–97.

prayer of the Gelasian Sacramentary, that '*ut superatis pacis inimicis, secura tibi serviat Romana libertas*'.⁴²

But whether we interpret the origins of religious dissent in terms of other centrifugal tendencies or not, it remains, in itself, an ominous sign. It shows that a large proportion of the Christians subject to the rule of an emphatically orthodox emperor took very little notice of his frequent exhortations that there should be 'One Catholic Veneration; One Salvation'. In Africa, and elsewhere, such dissent had remained normal and virtually unchallenged for generations. The Imperial administration, which continued to show its strength by disastrously over-taxing its subjects,⁴³ seems to have done very little to reduce to order the many brands of Christianity established throughout its provinces. The remark of the ecclesiastical historian, Sozomenos, on the effect of the decrees of the Emperors against the Montanists in Phrygia, reveals a strange situation: 'The Phrygians suffered the same treatment as the other heretics, in all the Roman provinces except Phrygia and its neighbouring regions, for here they had, since the time of Montanus, existed in great numbers, and do so to the present day.'⁴⁴

Africa is the most notorious example of this failure of a Christian Empire, conscious of its unity and still able in other matters to impose its will. In this province the union of the two centripetal forces in fourth-century society—the Imperial authority and the Catholic Church—was effectively challenged. The drama of the situation is increased if we believe, with some scholars, that this alliance had been a calculated act of policy. The alliance had been made by Constantine and was tested immediately by the outbreak of the Donatist schism in 312. Were it not for the avidity with which the Catholic party collected a dossier of the official pronouncements of Constantine on the notorious 'case of Caecilian', we should know immeasurably less about his attitude to the Christian Church immediately after his mysterious conversion at the Milvian Bridge. It is important that we should know. The 'Constantinian problem' lies at the root of Later Roman history; and it is the great merit of Professor Brisson's book that the problem of Constantine's relations with the Christian Church has been placed in the forefront of his treatment of Donatism. The conversion of Constantine is, in his view, the centripetal reaction *par excellence*. The issue at stake is not the protest of a particularist group, but the autonomy of a provincial tradition of Christianity in a universal and parasitic Empire. It was Constantine who provoked this struggle by allying the Empire with the universal Catholic Church.

Gibbon had already sensed the importance of such an alliance: 'The

⁴² G. Tellenbach, 'Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest', transl. R. F. Bennett (*Studies in Medieval History*, 3), 1940, p. 14 n. 2. 'That, having overcome the enemies of peace, the Roman Liberty might serve Thee in security.'

⁴³ A. H. M. Jones, 'Over-Taxation and the Decline of the Roman Empire', *Antiquity*, xxxiii, 1959, pp. 39–43.

⁴⁴ Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.*, II, 32, 6, ed. J. Bidez, *Die griechischen christl. Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrh.*, 1960, p. 98.

passive and unresisting obedience', he remarked, 'which bows under the yoke of authority, or even of oppression, must have appeared in the eyes of an absolute monarch the most conspicuous and useful of the evangelic virtues.'⁴⁵ But Gibbon had not been prepared to embark upon the difficult, and unpopular, task of deciding whether this Erastian vision of the passivity of the only unified religious body in his Empire was, in fact, the consideration which prompted Constantine in his conversion. Modern scholarship has forced many of us to make this decision. In England we have been protected by the works of Norman Baynes and A. H. M. Jones from doubts as to the somewhat inept sincerity of Constantine in his relations with the Christian Church.⁴⁶ This is not so in M. Brisson's France. The legendary nexus of Constantine's conversion, and, especially, the *Life of Constantine* by Eusebius, have been discredited as later falsifications. With them goes the picture of Constantine as a sincere Christian Emperor, swearing that he had been converted by a sign. We are left with what is very much the Constantine of the African Catholic dossier: a formidable patron of the Catholic religion, whose sincerity is unknown, but whose insistence, from the earliest years of his reign, on the peace and unanimity of both the Christian Church and his newly-conquered Empire, is so marked a feature of his public utterances that we are left to suspect that this craving for the unity of his one Empire under one god is the clue to his constant alliance with the one Church.

The conversion of Constantine has come to be regarded as a unilateral act of patronage by the Roman state to such an extent that it has even been suggested that the position of the Catholic bishops was equated to that of the more privileged officials of the Empire; and that their insignia, in the coming centuries, were a visible sign of the incorporation of the Church into the all-powerful bureaucratic machine.⁴⁷ In the words of Professor Grégoire, whose dissection of the evidence for the conversion of Constantine has done most to provoke such a conclusion on the policy of the first Christian Emperor: 'J'ai dit et je répète que de la grande révolution religieuse du iv^e siècle, il est non le Dumouriez, mais le Napoléon.'⁴⁸

To M. Brisson, the foresight of Constantine is amply justified by the vigorous loyalty of the African Catholics—represented by Optatus and Augustine—who clamoured to the Emperor to impose religious 'Unity' on a divided province, by force if needs be. The problem of religious coercion raised its ugly head; and in a form destined to have a long

⁴⁵ Gibbon, Ch. xx, ed. Bury, II, p. 294.

⁴⁶ N. H. Baynes, 'Constantine the Great and the Christian Church', *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, xv, 1929, pp. 341–442. A. H. M. Jones, *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe*, 1948.

⁴⁷ Th. Klausner, *Der Ursprung der bischöflichen Insignien u. Ehrenrechte* (Bonner akad. Reden, 1), 1948, which argues that the bishops had enjoyed the honorary rank of *viri illustres*, and that Papal insignia, such as the *pallium*, the *stola* and the shoes, were bestowed by the Emperor in recognition of the official rank of the Popes.

⁴⁸ H. Grégoire, 'Les persécutions dans l'Empire romain', *Académie royale de Belgique*, classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, 2e série, tom. 46, 1950, p. 89.

history. M. Brisson sees the justification, by Augustine, of the coercive powers of the Emperor in a new and interesting light. Such a justification, he believes, should not be treated as merely an expedient reaction to immediate political necessity and local interests. It was—as one would only expect from Augustine—something both deeper and more thoroughly developed than this: it was the reflection of a whole view of society, authoritarian and patriarchal. And in thus enunciating, in its most thorough form, the Catholic Ethic, Augustine appears as the theorist of the Constantinian revolution: 'Cette coincidence de la morale chrétienne et d'un ordre social déterminé, qui justifiait pour Augustin le recours au pouvoir civil en matière religieuse, Constantin en avait eu l'intention au moins confuse.'⁴⁹

Whatever we are prepared to think about the intentions of Constantine, the fact remains that the unilateral act which marked the alliance of Church and State, and whose effects are so obvious in the Byzantine Empire, was a revolution which failed most notably to reach fulfilment in the West. It would be wrong, in concentrating too closely on the local roots of a schism, to ignore the extent of this failure and the spiritual revolution which made such a failure inevitable.

Passive obedience was not the only virtue of the Christian; his crowning virtue had, for three centuries, been martyrdom. No matter how much we may, as historians of law, follow Gibbon in devaluing the number of the victims, the physical horrors and the political repercussions of the Roman persecutions, we have still to explain the fact that martyrdom was regarded as an integral part of the relations between Christians and the 'world', and that the Persecutions of the Church were regarded as being nothing less than the central issue in the history of the Roman Empire as written by Christian historians. This question has been raised and answered most cogently by Dr. Frend, and, on a more purely intellectual plane, by Professor Ehrhardt.⁵⁰ Dr. Frend's contribution is most rewarding: with his gift for the concrete in religious history, he has traced the Christian attitude to martyrdom from the previous history of religious tension between Greeks and Jews in Palestine and in the cities of the Hellenistic world. The Christian tradition of martyrdom reached back to the Maccabees; its immediate background is provided by the vicious outburst of anti-semitism in Alexandria and elsewhere, beside whose victims, numbered in their thousands, the list of Christian martyrs pales into insignificance.

Seen in this light, the origins of religious dissent in the Later Roman Empire reach back to the rise of Christianity itself on the fringes of the Jewish diaspora. It succeeded Judaism as the spearhead of a revolution. On the religious plane, the rise of Christianity marked the end of the 'Ancient City', whose values are so clearly summed up by Fustel de

⁴⁹ Brisson, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

⁵⁰ W. H. C. Frend, 'The Persecutions: some links between Judaism and the Early Church', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, ix, 1958, pp. 141–58; Arnold A. T. Ehrhardt, *Politische Metaphysik von Solon bis Augustin*, Bd. II, 'Die christliche Revolution', 1959.

Coulanges: 'L'Etat et la religion étaient si complètement confondus ensemble qu'il était impossible non-seulement d'avoir l'idée d'un conflit entre eux, mais même de les distinguer l'un de l'autre.'⁵¹

Such a view had never been imposed on Christianity; and in the West the newly established church was still raw from this conflict. To Christian contemporaries, Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, was the symbol of the newly established Christian Empire. He was a significant and ambiguous symbol. As Nebuchadnezzar had cast the Three Children of Israel into the fiery furnace, so the Roman Emperors had persecuted the Just; like Nebuchadnezzar, again, they had been converted, and were expected to persecute the Unjust—the pagans and heretics. But neither Catholics nor heretics showed any hesitation in reminding the Emperors of their unconverted past. Pope Liberius implied that Constantius II was his Nebuchadnezzar; and it is Augustine, not a Donatist writer, who said that, when the Feast of the Three Children of Israel—a feast celebrated with especial fervour in all the churches—came round each year, the Christian Emperor should remember his past and contemplate with profit the 'pious liberty' of these archetypes of the Christian martyrs.⁵²

Such advice was kept by the Catholics of the West. In Latin Christianity, Constantine did not become a saint, as he did in the Greek Church.⁵³ It was a significant and undeniable difference; however much it might be regretted by some contemporaries—and later by Dante—this 'desertion of the West' by Constantine was the hallmark of the papal Middle Ages:

sotto buona intenzion che fè mal frutto
per cedere al pastor si fece greco.⁵⁴

Thus the battle for the freedom of the church in a pagan state was too recent to be easily forgotten. It is not surprising that Lucifer of Cagliari, in his most vehement tract against an heretical Christian Emperor—'On dying for the Son of God'—should have copied out those passages in the *Divine Institutes* of Lactantius in which this 'Christian Cicero', himself an African, had defended in a magnificent appeal against the conservative autocracy of the pagan Emperor Diocletian, the rights of the individual conscience in religion.⁵⁵ The failure of the Great Persecution of Diocletian was regarded as the confirmation of a long process of religious self-assertion against the conformism of a pagan Empire. Freedom to assert a belief not recognized by the State was won

⁵¹ Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité antique*, livr. III, c. vii, 4, 5th éd. p. 197.

⁵² Augustine, *contra litteras Petilian*, II, xcii, 211, CSEL lii, p. 136. For an example of the scene of Nebuchadnezzar and the three Children of Israel in fourth-century art, see the painting in the catacomb of SS. Mark and Marcellianus, illustrated in the *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, 25, 1949, p. 13.

⁵³ W. Kaegi, 'Vom Nachleben Konstantins', *Schweizerische Zeitschrift f. Geschichte*, 8, 1958, 289–326.

⁵⁴ Dante, *Paradiso*, xx, 56 f.

⁵⁵ Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.*, V, 18–21, CSEL xix, pp. 458–72. See N. H. Baynes, *The Great Persecution*, Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. XII, 1939, pp. 646–77.

and held. 'However much Christian Churches and States may have sinned, in later times, by their religious coercion, the martyrdoms of the Roman Persecutions belong to the history of freedom.'⁵⁶ And in this revolution, which affected so deeply the North African provinces of the fourth and fifth centuries, the issues at stake were not merely the local grievances of a province; they were nothing less than the place of religion in society.

⁵⁶ J. Vogt, s.v. 'Christenverfolgung' (historisch) I, *Reallexikon f. Antike u. Christentum*, 2, Lieferung 16, 1954, col. 1207.

GERVASE OF TILBURY

H. G. RICHARDSON

GERVASE OF TILBURY has deserved more consideration than he has received at the hands of English historians. As Reinhold Pauli said of him, he was one with his learned fellow countrymen of the twelfth century, master Thomas Brown, master John of Salisbury and Pope Adrian IV, who sought their fortunes on the continent.¹ He was, in especial, like master Thomas who, earlier than Gervase, entered the service of the king of Sicily.² Pauli's examples would not, however, be the choice of everyone who wished to illustrate the cosmopolitan, intellectual society of the twelfth century. Professor Southern views it from a different angle in his recent article in *History*.³ I myself would emphasize the dominance of the French way of life from Ireland in the West to Syria in the East, a dominance that was not necessarily dependent upon military conquest.

It does not seem to be generally realized that French influences were at work in Ireland long before Henry II landed there in 1171. The congregations of Tiron and Savigny had daughter houses in Ireland in the earlier years of the twelfth century, well before Cistercian houses were planted there under the influence of St. Malachy, the friend and disciple of St. Bernard.⁴ When, at the same period, Bishop Gillebert of Limerick, a friend of St. Anselm's, drew up a constitution for the Irish Church, it was obviously based upon his knowledge of ecclesiastical organization in France and perhaps in England.⁵ There were Irish monks in the greater Benedictine houses of England after the Conquest, at Canterbury, Saint Albans and Winchester, some of whom became bishops of Irish sees in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries and were consecrated by Lanfranc and Anselm.⁶ I mention these things in order to emphasize that the narrow seas were a means of communication rather than obstacles to travel. So much of Western Europe,

¹ *Nachrichten von der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1882, p. 312. Pauli's reference to John of Salisbury is, in fact, mistaken. He held the view, current until recently, that John was in the service of Eugenius III, but this has been shown to be untenable: see the Introduction by C. N. L. Brooke to *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, i. xvi-xxiv, and A. Saltman, *Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury*, pp. 169-74.

² There is a notice of him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*: see also C. H. Haskins in *English Historical Review*, xxvi. 438-43.

³ *Ante*, xlvi. 201-16.

⁴ For details I may refer to a forthcoming article of my own.

⁵ *De statu Ecclesie* in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, clix. 905-1004. Gillebert had known Anselm in Normandy and continued in correspondence with him after he became archbishop.

⁶ Donat O'Hanly to Dublin, 1085; Samuel O'Hanly to Dublin, 1096; Malchus to Waterford, 1098 (Acts of Lanfranc in *A.S. Chronicles* (ed. Plummer), i. 290; Eadmer, *Historia Novorum*, pp. 73, 77).

so much of the Mediterranean, was, as it were, one vast country, where clerks and knights and merchants passed freely over great distances, however toilsome the roads, however hazardous the sea-passages. There were many difficulties to be overcome, but language seems never to present itself as one. England lay on the margin of this vast country and still further beyond, though within its borders, lay Wales and Ireland and Scotland. It is not perhaps solely on account of their remoteness that the distant provinces made so small a contribution to the general progress of European thought. The greatest intellectual effort in England appears to have expended itself in administration and law which, in their insular guise, were not exportable beyond the British Isles, however superior they may seem to anything the Continent had to offer.

And so, as Mr. Southern indicates, the cathedral schools of Northern France or, at least, the greater of them, had no comparable counterpart in England.⁷ But it should be added that they attracted scholars from across the Channel. England, if I may so express it, was within their parish. It is easy to demonstrate this fact. In the account that Boso and his fellow canons from Laon gave of their begging tour through southern England in 1113,⁸ they mentioned five former pupils of master Anselm of Laon, 'the fame of whose learning and eloquence was widespread throughout nearly the whole Latin world'.⁹ All of the five were of English origin and all, as it so happened, were to become bishops: William of Corbeil, archbishop of Canterbury, 1132–36, Alexander, bishop of Lincoln 1123–48, Algar, bishop of Coutances 1132–51, Nigel, bishop of Ely 1133–69, Robert, bishop of Exeter 1138–55. The canons also mentioned that the sons of Ranulf, the king's chancellor, had been at Laon, not as master Anselm's pupils, but as the pupils of William of Corbeil, who had his lodging in the bishop's house. From this glimpse of the school at Laon in the early twelfth century it is evident that it was not only distinguished but fashionable, for otherwise we should not expect the justiciar of England, Roger of Salisbury, to be sending his nephews, Alexander and Nigel, there or the chancellor to be sending his sons there, presumably to learn their grammar. It is indeed evident that, while there were older students, boys were sent to Laon, as they were later sent to medieval universities, at an age when they would now be still at a preparatory school.¹⁰

Some explanatory sentences on the school of Laon at this early period

⁷ *Ante*, xlvi. 202–4.

⁸ Herman, *De miraculis S. Marie Laudunensis*, in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, clvi. 961 sqq., lib. ii, cc. 6, 12, 13, 15. The original narrative has been interpolated by Herman: see E. Faral, *La légende arthurienne*, i. 225–33, and J. S. P. Tatlock in *Speculum*, viii. 454–65. These interpolations have given rise to different views as to the date of the journey. R. L. Poole's argument for a date after 1123 overlooks serious difficulties (*Exchequer in the Twelfth Century*, p. 55). In any case it falls to the ground if Guibert of Nogent, who describes the same journey, was writing, as is believed, not later than 1117 (Guibert de Nogent, *Histoire de sa vie* (ed. Bourgin), pp. xlvi–lxix).

⁹ *Vir sapientissimus magister Anselmus, tunc temporis ecclesie nostre canonicus et decanus, per totum pene orbem latinum sciencie et eloquacie sue fama notissimus* (Herman, lib. i, c. i).

¹⁰ Nigel, although a pupil of master Anselm's, could not have been much above twelve years of age.

are perhaps desirable, but of the subsequent attraction of the schools of Paris there is hardly need to adduce evidence. Schools on the Parisian model sprang up in England in the course of the twelfth century, though not in cathedral cities. Of these we are only beginning to learn a little from the obscure and scattered notices that survive. So recent is our knowledge that of Northampton, which has some claim to be considered a *studium generale* under Henry II, Rashdall and his equally learned editors knew nothing. Of Oxford in the twelfth century they knew something, but we may never recover more than tantalizing glimpses.¹¹ It is impossible therefore to speak with confidence of these English schools. They may have drawn a few students from overseas, and in Geoffrey of Vinsauf Northampton did, for a brief while, have one famous master.¹² But, so far as we can tell, neither Northampton nor Oxford had the attraction for masters and students that Bologna and Paris had. They seem to have been insular schools, and it is difficult to suppose that students who had the means to go abroad would be content with them. On the other hand we may fairly call Bologna and Paris international places of learning, if we understand 'nations' in the sense given to that word at these universities in the thirteenth century, groups of students of much the same region and mother tongue. These students could not remain altogether indifferent to political boundaries and political allegiances, but they had no thought that considerations of this kind should debar them from seeking the best teachers wherever they might be or from finding a career in a land other than that of their birth. And it is because the life of Gervase of Tilbury so well exemplifies this type of man, though his was a career out of the ordinary, that it seems worth while to set down what can be told of him.

It may seem strange that the one book of his which has survived, a book that attracted the editorial labours of Leibnitz and was well known to continental scholars, should not have been included in the Rolls Series or, to give it its official title, *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages*. But caprice, as well doubtless as lack of qualified editors, excluded not a few books of greater worth than the minor and (it must be added) indifferently edited works that found a place in that collection. For no evident reason Gervase failed to interest Sir Thomas Hardy. Not only is the account given of him in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts relating to the early History of Great Britain* ludicrously misleading, but not a single manuscript of his

¹¹ For Rashdall's knowledge of the English schools in the twelfth century see his *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (ed. Powicke and Emden), iii. 9-33. For the study of Roman and canon law see now Kuttner and Rathbone in *Traditio*, vii. 321-7.

¹² For the schools at Northampton see *English Historical Review*, lvi. 595-605. Of Geoffrey's teaching at Northampton we know little beyond the fact. But Matthew, the precentor of Rievaulx, a minor but interesting poet of the early thirteenth century, who modelled himself upon Geoffrey (*Revue Benedictine*, iii. 15-84), may have sat under him. There is some ground for believing that Vacarius taught at Northampton as well as at Oxford (*Traditio*, vii. 322): if so, this is a second eminent master.

surviving work, the *Otia Imperialia*, is particularized.¹³ It is true that a few extracts from the *Otia* were included as a supplement to the *Chronicon Anglicanum* of Ralf of Coggeshall,¹⁴ but these do not give a just idea of the nature and scope of the book. Two and a half columns are allotted to Gervase in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but this contribution is not very helpful and it is significant that no use is made of the study by Pauli who traced Gervase's career with some exactitude and catalogued the manuscripts of his book.¹⁵ Pauli's article, in the transactions of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Göttingen, is not easy to come by and, like Leibnitz's edition of the *Otia*,¹⁶ is to be sought by most of us only in great libraries. Rather more accessible are the extracts Pauli edited in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*,¹⁷ and his introduction to them should, at least, save the student from grievous error. Gervase had been noticed at some length, if unsympathetically, fifty years earlier by Petit-Radel in the seventeenth volume of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*: the summary he furnished of the first two sections of the *Otia* gives a fair idea of their contents,¹⁸ but his patience was exhausted before he came to the third section, which has proved more attractive to later students.¹⁹ There is, however, no informative account of Gervase in English and that is why I am attempting to tell his story here.

Gervase, in truth, tells his own story, but, apart from one anecdote which he himself related to Ralf of Coggeshall, what he tells us has to be extracted with difficulty from his book. Let us begin with some facts about which there can be no uncertainty. He was in the household of Henry II's son, also Henry, the young king as he was called from his coronation in his father's lifetime, for whom he wrote a jest-book, *Liber Facetiarum*, and for whom he planned a larger work which ultimately became the *Otia Imperialia*.²⁰ Gervase was a fervent admirer of the prince, and the language in which he speaks of him suggests that he was in his service for some years.²¹ Elsewhere he tells us that, in the company of Philip, son of Patrick earl of Salisbury, he followed the court of Henry II as he had previously attended the 'schools'.²² Nor can there

¹³ *Descriptive Catalogue*, iii. 25-7.

¹⁴ Ed. Joseph Stevenson, 1875. The extracts, not in the order of the book and lacking any reference to the chapter divisions, are scattered over pp. xxix-xxxii and 419-449. The text is superior to that of Leibnitz.

¹⁵ *Nachrichten, ut supra*, pp. 312-32. On some points Pauli had been anticipated by E. Winkelmann, *Philipp von Schwaben und Otto IV von Braunschweig* (1878), ii. 502-3.

¹⁶ *Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicensium* (1707), i. 881-1004: corrections and additions in vol. ii. (1710) 751-84.

¹⁷ *Scriptores* (1885) xxvii. 359-94.

¹⁸ *Histoire Littéraire* (1832), xvii. 82-109. Louis Charles François Petit-Radel, 1756-1836, was a distinguished archaeologist in his time and in charge of the Mazarine Library.

¹⁹ E.g. F. Liebrecht, *Des Gervasius von Tilbury Otia Imperialia* (1856), and D. Comparetti, as to whom see later.

²⁰ M.G.H. *Scriptores*, xxvii. 366, 370, 375. Subsequent references to this edition are cited as 'Pauli'.

²¹ Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, pp. 447-8, and references in preceding note.

²² Pauli, p. 385: *diutina in scolis et curia . . . regis vetustioris Anglie Henrici . . . comman- sione firmata*.

be any doubt that these schools were at Bologna, where Gervase taught canon law.²³ Since the young king died on 11 June 1183, we can date approximately the early stages of Gervase's career. He stresses the length of his stay at Bologna, and, if the later regulations for graduation are any guide to the rules in the twelfth century,²⁴ he could not have incepted in canon law until he had completed at least six years of study in that discipline. We must, of course, allow for years of preliminary studies, but where these were undertaken we are left to conjecture. Since Gervase was in Venice in July 1177, when he witnessed the reconciliation between the pope, Alexander III, and the emperor, Frederick I,²⁵ he was presumably teaching at Bologna at the time; but he can hardly have stayed there for more than a year or two longer, for we have to account for the years he spent at the courts of Henry II and the young king. In any case he must have passed twelve years or so of his early life in Italy, for he tells us that he was in Rome when Alexander III was there.²⁶ This was possible only in the brief period, between November 1165 and July 1167,²⁷ after the pope's sojourn in France and before his expulsion from Rome by the Imperialists: the probable year is 1166. Since Gervase was then, in his own words, a boy, he must have been born in the early 1150s. Indeed, if he had been born as early as 1150, he would hardly have been considered a boy in 1166, for at the age of sixteen, even though he might have been *juvenis*, he would have been reckoned a man.

That Gervase's earliest years were spent in England there is good reason to suppose. There are a number of references to unimportant English places in the third section of his book and he usually gives sufficient particulars to enable the place to be identified. Thus he writes: scio in Anglia, episcopatu Lincolnensi, inter Londonias et Northamptonam, vico quem Aspele vulgus nominat, silvam . . .²⁸ The place is Aspley Guise in Bedfordshire. Another passage shows his local knowledge: in regno Anglorum, episcopatu Londoniensi et comitatatu Essexie, est castrum Angra nuncupatum quod bone memorie Ricardus de Luci . . . in Anglia quondam iusticiarius construxit.²⁹ The place is Ongar, where Richard de Luci undoubtedly had a castle, even though he may not have been the first builder. To any boy living on the western side of Essex, where Tilbury and Ongar both are, this would be well known, and it is likely that the story of the judgement of the swans,³⁰ which

²³ *Ibid.*: in hospicio venerabilis auditoris mei in iure canonico apud Bononiam Iohannis Pinatelli Neapolitani archidiaconi. It is because he had been a doctor at Bologna that Ralf of Coggeshall called him 'magister Gervasius' (p. 122).

²⁴ Rashdall, *op. cit.*, i. 220-1.

²⁵ Pauli, p. 380.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 392: Sane temporibus nostris sub papa Alexandro III, dum puer eram, inventa et Rome . . .

²⁷ The pope's itinerary can be deduced from Jaffe-Loewenfeld, *Regesta*, ii. 195-205.

²⁸ Pauli, pp. 383-4.

²⁹ Leibnitz, i. 993.

³⁰ The unfaithful swan is condemned to death. This *exemplum* is known in more than one form.

he places at Ongar, was one that was told to him at the time. Of course, Gervase may have visited a good many places in England in the train of Henry II and the young king, though much of this time, especially in the latter part, was presumably spent in France. Doubtless also we must allow for occasional visits to England during the long years that Gervase spent abroad, but he says nothing of them and it seems necessary to suppose that most of his knowledge of the country was acquired before he left for Italy.

We can thus account for the first thirty years of Gervase's life. Born about 1152, he was in Rome by 1166 and at Bologna by 1170, in the service of Henry II before 1180, when or soon after he passed into the service of the young king. After the prince's death he passed into the service of Archbishop William of Reims³¹ and then into that of King William II of Sicily.³² That he was high in the royal favour we may judge from his reference to the house at Nola which the king had appointed him as a refuge from the summer heat of Palermo. Here he entertained his friend Philip, Earl Patrick's son, whom chance had brought to Italy.³³ Of the manner in which Gervase served King William we learn nothing. That he was still in the royal service in June 1189 we may be certain, for he was then in Salerno,³⁴ but the king's death in November of that year seems to have led to his departure from Italy. Another king had arisen, Tancred, who had no love for Englishmen or Normans and would have been no friend of Gervase. For Gervase's loyalty was commanded by the widowed queen Joan, daughter of Henry II,³⁵ whom Tancred regarded with aversion and was minded to cheat over her dower. But, in any case, since Gervase makes no reference to Richard I's stay in Sicily in 1190 and the dramatic happenings then,³⁶ we may be reasonably sure that he was not present. We next find him at Arles, where he had married a kinswoman of the archbishop, Humbert.³⁷ He tells us of his friendship with King Alphonse II of Aragon, who was his guest in the palace that he had acquired with his wife.³⁸ Since Alphonse died in April 1196, we have another firm date for this stage of Gervase's career. His marriage seems to have taken place in 1190, and he was certainly married not much later.³⁹ Well-to-do and a member of the highest circles in Arles, it is

³¹ Coggeshall, p. 122. W. Hunt in *D.N.B.* makes the good point that, since the archbishop is described as persecuting Albigensian heretics, this helps to fix the date, for in the Annals of Anchin his proceedings are described at some length *s.a.* 1183 (*Historiens de la France*, xviii. 536).

³² Pauli, p. 385.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.* A precise date is not given, but 'anno quo fuit Acon obsessa, circa imminens sancti Iohannis Baptiste festum'.

³⁵ See his references to her (Pauli, pp. 381, 383).

³⁶ For a detailed account of the relations between Tancred, Joan and Richard see K. Norgate, *Richard the Lion Heart*, pp. 124-38.

³⁷ Pauli, pp. 390-1.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 389, 391.

³⁹ As stated below, he seems to have entertained Eleanor of Aquitaine at Arles in 1191. This would seem to fix the date of his marriage in the year 1190, assuming that he left Sicily after the death of William II, unless—an unlikely alternative—he had married when he was in the king's service. How he made the acquaintance of his wife is nowhere indicated. What seems evident is that he settled at Arles because of his marriage.

not surprising that Otto IV, to whom he was distantly related,⁴⁰ should make him marshal of the kingdom of Arles.⁴¹ The post was, in principle, a military one and Gervase was not trained in arms. But the duties seem to have been honorific, for Otto exerted little authority in the kingdom,⁴² and such duties as Gervase assumed he discharged, as he was later to say he did, with his ready tongue.⁴³ Of the year in which he received the appointment we have no indication beyond the fact that Otto was crowned king of the Romans on 12 July 1198. Gervase appears to have been present in his official capacity on the occasion of Otto's coronation as emperor on 4 October 1209 at Rome.⁴⁴

Gervase made Arles his home for many years. He calls the Mediterranean *mare nostrum*⁴⁵ and his familiarity with what we now call Provence is evident from numerous passages in his book,⁴⁶ much of which must have been written at this period.⁴⁷ The book was, however, still in progress in 1215, for Gervase refers to William the Lion as dead,⁴⁸ and William did not die until 4 December 1214. But it is possible that by then Gervase had left Arles. Otto seems never to have visited the kingdom and if, as Gervase implies in many places, he was on terms of familiarity with the emperor, we must suppose that he followed the imperial court. Before the book was finished, 'Otto's fortunes had changed very much for the worse. The battle of Bouvines, fought on 27 July 1214, had ended in irreparable disaster for his cause. He died on 19 May 1218, and there is thus a very short space of years in which the book could have been brought to completion and presented to him, emperor no longer except in name. It is probable, therefore, that Gervase clung to his imperial master until the end. When that came he was an ageing and disappointed man. His wife, we must suppose, was dead and, like many another of his contemporaries, he seems to have ended his days in a religious house. Ralf of Coggeshall relates a story he had heard from Gervase 'cum canonicus esset'.⁴⁹ This language suggests that, when Ralf was writing, Gervase was already dead, and Ralf himself appears to have died by 1228.⁵⁰ We can get no nearer than that to the date and circumstances of Gervase's death.

⁴⁰ Pauli, p. 385.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 363, 366, 393.

⁴² P. Fournier, *Le royaume d'Arles*, pp. 95-7, where Otto's authority is minimized. That Otto exerted some authority seems clear, however, from Gervase's statement that he had made good his claim to his wife's inheritance 'per sententiam curie imperialis' (Pauli, p. 391).

⁴³ Pauli, p. 366; et quod ex officio marescalcie sub debito armorum ministerio exequi teneor, acute lingue gladio ducam in ministerio. He is referring to his book.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 382: cum nuper Rome essem. That he was at Otto's coronation was first suggested by Winkelmann, *Philipp von Schwaben und Otto IV*, ii. 502.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 373; Leibnitz, i. 981.

⁴⁶ He has a vivid description of the people (Pauli, p. 376) and he evidently knows the places he mentions: see the identifications by Pauli, pp. 384-93.

⁴⁷ It would seem impossible, for example, that the twelfth chapter of *Decisio II* (Pauli, pp. 376-7) should have been written very long after Otto's coronation: in it Gervase urges the emperor to exercise his authority in the kingdom of Arles.

⁴⁸ Pauli, p. 390.

⁴⁹ Coggeshall, p. 122.

⁵⁰ He intended to continue his chronicle to 11 Henry III (p. 163), though the existing text does not go beyond 1223.

Perhaps a note of explanation is called for at this point. I have suggested that Gervase entered a house of regular canons. The words used by Ralf of Coggeshall might perhaps be interpreted as meaning that he became a secular canon, but this seems quite unlikely in view of his age. There was no lack of houses of regular canons in Essex that might have received him: Colchester, St. Osyth's, Waltham and seven or eight others.⁵¹ We can but speculate, though it is tempting to believe that he returned to the countryside where he had passed his childhood and where he was most likely to meet Ralf of Coggeshall.

By the standards of his day Gervase was a man of learning. The first and second sections of his book are obvious compilations. In the first his chief reliance is upon the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor, whom, however, he does not mention by name. Elsewhere he freely cites, among others, doubtless largely at second-hand, Lucretius, Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, Claudian, Sallust, Pliny, Orosius, Gildas, Bede, Paul the Deacon.⁵² Among later authors he borrows from Freculf of Lisieux, Hugh of Fleury, the pseudo-Turpin, Geoffrey of Monmouth.⁵³ His academic career had made him familiar with Gratian's *Decretum*⁵⁴ as well as imperial laws and constitutions.⁵⁵ He professes acquaintance with the ancient registers of the Empire⁵⁶ and he was even led to explore the papal archives⁵⁷ in order to ascertain the names of the ecclesiastical provinces and episcopal sees of England, France, Germany and Poland. His third section is more largely the result of his own enquiries and gossip. Or should we say that he shows himself a collector of folk-lore? He is one of the primary authorities for the medieval legends of Vergil the sorcerer.⁵⁸ The impression left is that over a long life he had kept what a later age would have called a commonplace book, the repository of the fruits of his curiosity and reading. It is not surprising that the *Otia* was popular among the learned of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and that it was twice translated into French.⁵⁹

To give an intelligible account of the book in a brief space is difficult; but one must do one's best or leave the story half-told. Gervase begins with the Creation, the process of which he describes in nine chapters. Then, after a description of the four monarchies of Adam, Noah, Alexander of Macedon and Augustus Cæsar, he passes to geography,

⁵¹ Berden, Blackmore, Latton, Leighs, Little Dunmow, Thobey, Thremhall: these were all Augustinian, mostly quite small houses. There was also a house of Premonstratensian canons, Beeleigh.

⁵² For a long list of authors mentioned by Gervase see Liebrecht, *Des Gervasius von Tilbury Otia Imperialia*, pp. xi-xii.

⁵³ Pauli, pp. 360-1.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 364, 367, 387-8; Leibnitz, i. 973.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 379.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 376; particulars of the provinces of the kingdom of Arles are to be found 'in antiquissimis imperii registris'.

⁵⁷ Leibnitz, i. 956: et Romane ecclesie registrum cuius de verbo ad verbum habuimus; Leibnitz, ii. 760: ut ex archivis domini Pape collegi (or potest colligi). Cf. Pauli, p. 372: Ex archivis domini pape.

⁵⁸ D. Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio evo* (1896), ii. 27-49, 187-91. There is an English translation (1895) of an earlier edition (1872).

⁵⁹ Pauli, p. 361.

beginning with the four rivers that flow from Paradise: the Ganges, the Nile, the Tigris and the Euphrates. Next, after explaining the formation of clouds and rain, he describes the sea and incidentally gives a receipt for rendering sea-water potable. He then returns to Paradise, original sin and the story of Adam, discussing incidentally the functions of *incubi*, fauns and satyrs. Lastly four chapters, traversing briefly, though with divagations, the early history of mankind up to the Deluge, bring the first section to an end. The second section begins with a survey of the post-Diluvian world, starting with Asia and passing to Europe, Africa and the islands of the Mediterranean. Geography gives way to history and at chapter nineteen Gervase gets on firmer ground with lists of emperors and kings of France from Charlemagne to Otto IV and Philip Augustus. Chapter twenty is devoted to the kings of England down to John, of whom he speaks in ambiguous terms. The two final chapters of this section return to ancient history and include a tract on the Holy Land.⁶⁰ The third section contains 'marvels of every province, not every marvel, but some from each province'.⁶¹ There is no observable order in the 129 chapters, many of which are no more than jottings. It looks as though the author, in some hurry to present his book to the emperor, did not expand his notes as he had intended: he certainly did not methodize them, though some chapters on the same theme, those, for instance, on the legendary Vergil, are grouped together.

It is only by presenting examples that any clear idea can be given of this section of the book. It must suffice to translate one chapter (omitting the introductory sentences) which portrays an English archæologist excavating in Italy in the twelfth century.⁶² This is a characteristic piece of Gervase's writing when he is not fettered by authority.

In the time of King Roger of Sicily there came a certain master of English origin asking the king of his bounty to make him a gift. Now the king, who was distinguished alike by birth and breeding, thought that some substantial favour would be demanded of him and he replied: 'Ask whatever gift you wish, and I will give it to you'. But the petitioner, a man of great learning, skilled and subtle in both the trivium and the quadrivium, experienced in physics and eminent in astronomy, told the king that he did not seek temporal rewards but rather what men might deem worthless, namely Vergil's bones, wherever they might be found within the confines of his kingdom. The king granted his request and, armed with a royal warrant, the master came to Naples, where Vergil had displayed his genius in many ways. After he had produced his warrant, the people, though ignorant of the

⁶⁰ Based upon Theodosius, *De situ Terræ Sanctæ*, as Gervase indicates, but from a corrupt version: see the text in *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, ed. P. Geyer (1898). Much is super-added from a source I have not identified. Leibnitz's text is here particularly unsatisfactory.

⁶¹ *Incipit tercia decisio continens mirabilia uniuscuiusque provincie, non omnia, sed ex omnibus aliqua.*

⁶² Pauli, pp. 392-3. An Italian translation is given by Companetti, *op. cit.*, ii. 45-7. Liebrecht has notes on this chapter (*op. cit.*, pp. 159-61).

place of sepulture, accorded their obedience and readily promised what, to the best of their belief, was an impossibility. In the end, however, the master, guided in the right direction by his art, located the bones within a tomb in the mountain side, although no sign of an opening could be discerned. The spot was excavated and after prolonged labour a tomb was exposed wherein was found the body of Vergil, not yet dissolved, and at his head a book. In this book the notary art was inscribed together with other diagrams relating to his science.⁶³ After the dust and bones had been removed, the book was taken by the master. Then, however, the people of Naples remembered the particular affection that Vergil had for their city and feared lest it should be exposed to harm if the bones were taken away. They decided, therefore, to disregard the king's mandate rather than by obedience to be the cause of the destruction of the town. Vergil, it was thought, had himself placed the tomb in the bowels of the mountain, opining that the removal of his bones would bring his artifices to naught. The master of the knights,⁶⁴ therefore, with a crowd of citizens, gathered the bones together again and, placing them in a leather bag, took them to a castle surrounded by the sea on the borders of the city, where they are shown through an iron grille to those wishing to see them.

When the master was asked what he had intended to do with the bones, he replied that, by his incantations, he would have so contrived that in answer to his questions the bones would have revealed to him the whole of Vergil's art and that he would have been satisfied if they had been given to him in their entirety for the space of forty days. Taking therefore, only the book with him, the master departed. We have ourselves seen extracts from this very book, made by the venerable cardinal John of Naples in the time of Pope Alexander, and by conducting experiments we have proved their truth.

We may think Gervase unduly credulous, but we have no reason to question his good faith. John of Naples was a very real person, cardinal of St. Anastasia from 1159 to 1179, a man whom Gervase may well have met, as he seems to imply, before he left Bologna. The castle, known later as the Castel dell' uovo, was also very real.⁶⁵ And though the story, as Geoffrey presents it, must be fabulous, it has been suggested that the English master was also a very real person, Adelard of Bath, the most distinguished mathematician of the early twelfth century.⁶⁶

To summarize Gervase is perhaps to pillory him, and it is easy to

⁶³ *Ars notoria . . . cum aliis studii eius characteribus.* Apparently a cabalistic work of some kind is intended. Cf. *Ars Notoria: the Notory Art of Solomon showing the cabalistic key of magical operations . . .* by Robert Turner, 1657: this purports to be a translation from Apollonius of Tyana. Though the description by Erasmus in his colloquy *Ars Notoria* is not to be taken too seriously, it may be cited as giving a notion of what a book on the art was like: 'Quid contingat liber? Varias animantium formas, draconum, leonum, leopardorum, variosque circulos et in his descriptas voces, partim Graecas, partim Latinas, partim Hebraicas, aliasque barbaricarum linguarum.' For a similar book, but of necromancy, in 1331, see Sayles, *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench*, v. 54.

⁶⁴ Magister militum. Comparetti translates: Il duca dei napoletani. The passage may be corrupt.

⁶⁵ Cf. Comparetti, *op. cit.*, ii. 40.

⁶⁶ E. Jamison, *The Sicilian Norman Kingdom in the mind of Anglo-Norman Contemporaries* (Annual Italian Lecture of the British Academy, 1938), p. 40. For Adelard see C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Medieval Science* (1927), pp. 20-42, and the extended study by F. Blumentzrieder, *Adelard von Bath* (1935).

write his book down as a farrago of fables, myths and popular traditions.⁶⁷ But he shared his tastes and beliefs with such men as William of Malmesbury, Walter Map, Alexander Neckham, Ralf de Diceto, Ralf of Coggeshall, to name only English writers who come readily to mind. The age of scepticism was not yet. Gervase's acceptance of the incredible did not obstruct his view of the world around him. 'Gervase,' it has been said, 'perhaps of all Anglo-Norman contemporaries re-creates most vividly and intimately the incidents of everyday life and the friendliness and hospitality of the south.'⁶⁸ He was a man of the world and a political realist. The society in which he moved was that of the high-born in the kingdoms of the West. In his palace at Arles he had entertained not only the king of Aragon, but also, it would seem, Eleanor of Aquitaine on her journey back from Sicily in 1191.⁶⁹ Without intention he conveys to us the atmosphere of the great family of Western European rulers, of which he was, in some sort, a member. Since he is writing for the emperor's ear, it is Otto's connections that he constantly stresses. When he mentions Henry II he adds more than once that he was Otto's grandfather⁷⁰ and he likewise qualifies the young king as Otto's uncle.⁷¹ When Gervase mentions William II of Sicily, he recalls that he married Otto's aunt,⁷² and similarly, when mentioning Earl Patrick of Salisbury, he reminds Otto that the earl's granddaughter had married Otto's uncle, the illegitimate William de Longespée.⁷³ These are reminders we need more than Otto, for they help to explain some aspects of twelfth-century politics, as they help to explain Gervase's own attitude. He was too closely bound to the emperor for any breath of suspicion to attach to his loyalty, but, canonist as he is, he is loyal also to the pope. His book opens with a dissertation upon the *sacerdotium* and the *regnum*, and he seeks to define the sphere of each. God is the author of both and the protector of both. Neither is greater than the other, nor should one ask which is superior but which of the two powers is the more faithful in discharging its duty. The argument cannot, however, be summarized in a few sentences and, truth to tell, it is too rhetorical to be crystal clear.⁷⁴ There is, however,

⁶⁷ Cf. Pauli, p. 361.

⁶⁸ Jamison, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-1.

⁶⁹ Pauli, p. 391: In pallacio nostro . . . in presentia pie memorie Ildefonsi illustris regis quondam Aragonensis et socrus vestre . . . The latter must be either Irene, mother of Otto's wife Beatrice, or Eleanor. Pauli rejects the former as hardly possible and with good reason. Irene could not, in any case, be called 'socrus vestra' before 1208, when Otto was betrothed to Beatrice, and probably not before 1212, when the marriage was celebrated. But the incident took place before Alphonse's death in 1196, and the only person who could be described as 'socrus vestra' then was Eleanor, Otto's grandmother. The only probable occasion for Eleanor's visit to Arles was either on her way to Sicily with Berengaria early in January 1191 via Mont-Genève and Milan or on her return journey via Rome (Easter 1191) and thence to Normandy. But if it were on her outward journey, we should expect Berengaria to have been mentioned. Cf. Landon, *Itinerary of Richard I*, pp. 45, 48, 192, and *English Historical Review*, lxxiv. 201.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 385, 390, 392.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 366, 375.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 381.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 383, 385.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 363-5.

no mistaking the significance of Gervase's counsel to Otto that he should seek to assert his authority in Burgundy rather than to pursue wider ambitions. The wider his territories, the less will his *imperium* be.⁷⁵ But this advice, though it seems to have been written some years earlier was, in the event, addressed to a monarch who had fallen from his high estate in his contest with the papacy. So Gervase reminds Otto that among men there is nothing but change and vicissitude. Anon the spirit rejoices in felicity; anon it meditates in sorrow. There is always movement, rarely tranquillity. He draws a parallel between the emperor and Saul, whose vexation was tempered by the sound of David's harp, and he presents his book as a more fitting distraction than the tales of jesters and minstrels.⁷⁶

From Gervase's choice of words⁷⁷ it must be supposed that he did not imagine that the emperor, though he is frequently addressed throughout the book, would read it, but that it would be read to him. This does not mean that Otto was unable to read Latin but that, great man that he was, he would employ clerks to read to him, just as he would employ clerks to write his letters, though he himself could write in case of need. We must remember that silent reading was not commonly practised in the Middle Ages and that, if Otto had read the book, he would have read it aloud and, moreover, in the presence of others, for he would be rarely alone. We must picture the emperor then, in his hours of inactivity, surrounded by those few courtiers who remained faithful to him, listening to a clerk reading from Gervase's book, chiefly perhaps the marvels, for some of the other matter was heavy going. In reading the book ourselves we learn what was fashionable entertainment at the period, at least when that entertainment was decorous, for there were grosser forms of entertainment which Gervase despised.

So much for Gervase's book; but his story would not be complete if there were not added something he did not write but told to Ralf of Coggeshall.⁷⁸ The tale is too long to be told fully here, and to tell it briefly is to rob it of the marvellous element which, if now a weariness, then gave it a savour. The bare facts are horrifying enough. The year is 1183 or 1184 and Gervase is in the service of the archbishop of Reims. Spying a girl alone in a vineyard, Gervase went up to her and sought to seduce her; but she replied: 'It is not God's will that I should be your lover or that of any man, for if I should lose my virginity and my flesh should once be corrupted, without doubt I should be consigned irredeemably to everlasting damnation.' When he heard this, Gervase at once perceived that she belonged to that most impious sect, the Publicans,⁷⁹ and, while he was trying to confute her, Archbishop

⁷⁵ Pauli, p. 376: *Unde est quod tibi dico, princeps sacratissime et domine, quod sacius esset, imperium minui in dimensione terrarum . . .* ⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 366.

⁷⁷ ' . . . dignum duxi aliquid auribus vestris ingerere quo humana opertetur recuperacio'.

⁷⁸ *Chronicon Anglicanum*, pp. 121-4.

⁷⁹ One of the names given to the Albigensian heretics.

William came up with his company. Discovering what the argument was about, the archbishop ordered the girl to be arrested and taken to Reims. She was put on trial and, refusing to recant, was condemned to the stake. She died with the constancy of a Christian martyr, neither sighing nor weeping nor lamenting. That this tale was in the least shameful did not cross the mind of Gervase or of his interlocutor, for the sins of the flesh were venial, while the sin of heresy was mortal in this world and the next. The brightly coloured tapestry of the Middle Ages has its reverse, and the reverse is not beautiful to behold.

Such then is the story of Gervase of Tilbury. It is one to be remembered by all students of Angevin England. There were other subjects of the English king who passed from court to court,⁸⁰ others who studied and taught for a time at Bologna. All these men had something in common and their careers, though highly personal, illustrate an important aspect of the society of the twelfth century. Gervase's own career must, however, have been exceptional in that, although in minor orders and a canonist, he led such a life as an unusually well educated layman might have led. We may contrast him with another English canonist who taught at Bologna, Richard de Morins, who made a great name for himself in the university as Richard the Englishman. He also became a regular canon, but, on abandoning the academic life, he had no secular career. He entered religion in his prime and he ruled Dunstable Priory for nearly forty years. Like Gervase he was an author and he had to his credit both a number of legal works and a chronicle which, though not a work of art, is above the level of the minor monastic annals of the thirteenth century.⁸¹ Richard, as a jurist, has his importance, but Gervase is, in his fashion, a humanist and has a wider appeal. Why that should be I have endeavoured to suggest. It is regrettable that few English medievalists should know scarcely more of Gervase than that he was not the author of the *Dialogus de Scaccario*.⁸² It is regrettable too that, apart from Pauli's extracts, published three quarters of a century ago, there should be no critical edition of Gervase's writings. It would be fitting if an English scholar were to make the *Otia Imperialia* easily accessible to historians.

⁸⁰ For the interchange between England and Sicily see C. H. Haskins in *English Historical Review*, xxvi. 437-43, where, however, most space is devoted to Thomas Brown. Miss Jamison's paper, noted above, is a useful supplement.

⁸¹ Russell, *Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth-Century England*, pp. 111-13; Kuttner and Rathbone in *Traditio*, vii. 329-39; *Annales Monastici*, iii. 3-158 (cf. pp. x-xi).

⁸² Owing to a mistaken attribution in some manuscripts, Gervase was long credited with the authorship of the *Dialogus*. That this was impossible was demonstrated by Thomas Madox, *History of the Exchequer*, ii. 338-44. The reiteration of Madox's conclusion has brought this fact about Gervase, but little else, to the notice of students.

EDITORIAL NOTES

N. H. BAYNES, an Honorary Vice-President of the Historical Association, died on 12 February, after a long illness, at the age of 83. In the years between the wars he gave devoted service to the Association, as author, lecturer and adviser.

Professor R. A. Humphreys writes, 'Norman Hepburn Baynes was the son of a General Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, and his grandfather had been a Baptist minister in Somerset. He was educated at Eastbourne College and at New College, Oxford, where he won the Lothian Essay Prize in 1901 and the Arnold Essay Prize in 1903. With a magnificent voice, he possessed the talents which could have turned him into a great advocate, a great actor, or a great preacher. He himself used to say that he might have made his fortune in the Music Halls, and no one familiar with his gaiety of character, his powers of mimicry, and his love of the ridiculous, could doubt this for a moment. But the life he chose was that of a scholar and a teacher. Rejecting an invitation to stand for Parliament as a Liberal, in 1913 he joined the Department of History at University College—his salary £40 a year—and there he remained, first as an Assistant in Ancient History, then as Reader in the History of the Roman Empire, with the additional appointment in 1927 of Director of the Evening School of History, and finally, in 1931, as Professor of Byzantine History. A little volume, privately printed at the University Press in Oxford in 1942, and containing a bibliography of his writings, indicates the immense range of Baynes's learning.¹ It conveys also some impression of the range and warmth of his friendships. He called himself a Victorian individualist, and this indeed he was, with all the virtues, all the breadth of interests and all the intellectual riches which a Victorian individualist, of the right sort, might be supposed to have. He was a great teacher and a great scholar, whose humanity and generosity of spirit never failed, and whose memory is imprinted with affection and gratitude in the minds of all who knew him, students, colleagues, friends.'

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In his report to the Annual Conference of the Historical Association at the University College of North Staffordshire, the Editor was able to tell members that *History* now has about 7,000 subscribers in over 60 separate countries.

¹ *An Address presented to Norman Hepburn Baynes, with a Bibliography of his writings.* The bibliography was reprinted, with additions, in *The Journal of Roman Studies*, xxxvii (1947).

REVIEWS AND SHORT NOTICES

ANCIENT

THE LOST HISTORIES OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT. By L. Pearson. American Philological Association: Oxford: Blackwell. 1960. xiv + 275 pp. 52s.

Most of our information about Alexander comes from authors who wrote three or more centuries after his death. The critical historian must then seek to identify and evaluate *their* sources. Many accounts of Alexander were written by men who accompanied his expedition, but even these were regarded in antiquity as often mendacious, and they were embellished by fictions in later tradition. Arrian, whose sober and generally credible narrative is universally regarded as the best of the accounts still extant, tells us that he normally followed Ptolemy and Aristobulus, who served Alexander as general and engineer respectively. Ptolemy's work would hardly be known but for Arrian, and Aristobulus would otherwise be best attested as a geographical source for Strabo. These facts alone make it clear how hard it is to define the character of works that are now lost from the brief judgements or casual citations of later writers who were not primarily interested in their historical content or value. Moreover the sources used by our other authorities can only be determined by more or less plausible conjectures, to which some German scholars gave the status of dogmas. By questioning some of these dogmas, the late Sir William Tarn rendered a great service, but his own tortuous analyses served principally to fortify mistaken preconceptions of Alexander's policy and character. Professor Pearson has now given us the most comprehensive and fair-minded examination of the problem known to me; clarity and judgement on his part are matched by the elegance of presentation on the publisher's.

Pearson's chief aim is to ascertain the literary characteristics of the lost histories, rather than to determine their accuracy or bias. His work is none the less of the highest value to the historian who wishes to find 'good and trustworthy evidence' on Alexander. In particular, he has shown how Ptolemy, whom too many scholars have idolized on the principle 'omne ignotum pro magnifico', was probably not much more than an accurate reporter of military operations, especially where he was an eye-witness, and that it is unlikely that he or Aristobulus had access to documents. Since both almost certainly wrote their works in old age, long after the events they described, it seems to me that both must have depended to a considerable extent on some previous account. This can hardly be other than the official history of Callisthenes, who was for Polybius *the* authority for the battle of Issus. There is, in my belief, a great decline in the quality of all our accounts of Alexander from about the time when his history broke off. Pearson has only hinted at the overdue rehabilitation of Callisthenes. But, while ably re-arguing the case for the view that Clitarchus was Diodorus' source, he has, with sounder reasons than Tarn's, rightly placed him after Aristobulus and given the best description of his work we have. (His dating is supported by Pliny, who regards Clitarchus as later, not earlier than Theophrastus;

Pearson 233 misunderstands the text.) The merits of Pearson's book emerge not only in its general conclusions but in a great number of detailed observations, which it is not possible to note here.

Oriel College, Oxford

P. A. BRUNT

THE LYRIC AGE OF GREECE. By A. R. Burn. London: Edward Arnold. 1960. ix + 422 pp. 42s.

Mr. Burn has written a lively and interesting book which is the product of many years of travel and thought. He has an excellent knowledge of detail and a fine feeling for the countryside of Greece and Asia Minor, and he often adduces modern parallels such as the collection which he made of the ballads sung by the Andartes in the last war. In the Foreword he defines his subject as the Greek world in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., but he includes in his net such topics as the Greek Epic and 'Homer' whom he appears to treat as the author both of the *Iliad* and of the *Hymn to Apollo* in the eighth century. His subject, therefore, is rather the emergence of the Greek world from that Dark Age which had begun with the collapse of Bronze Age civilization; the rise of new states on the Greek mainland, and the planting of hundreds of colonies on the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea and the Black Sea; and the interaction of the original intelligence of the Greeks and the older civilizations of the Near East. The men of this period—Homer, Hesiod, Lycurgus, Archias, Cypselus and many others—are almost all shadowy figures, but through their great achievements they laid the foundations which were to carry the structure of Greek and European civilization. Excitement and originality are the marks of this period in politics, art, architecture, commerce, currency, colonization, religion, philosophy and many other fields of enterprise and thought. The Lyric Age is a good title not only because these centuries produced fine lyric poetry but also because they still have a thrilling quality for the historian.

Burn is an enthusiastic, imaginative writer who conveys to the reader the excitement of the period. At times his pen carries him away into colourful exaggerations which may mislead the general reader and alarm the specialist. For example, he writes of Greek warships protecting 'the great colonizing convoys', and one is inclined to imagine an armada such as the Athenian expedition setting out for Syracuse in 415 B.C. rather than the couple of fifty-oared boats under Battus which sailed to Platea before they founded Cyrene or the two hundred Corinthians who went off to found Apollonia in Illyria. The scale of Greek colonizing parties was really closer to that of the buccaneers under Morgan and Sharp. Again, we read of the renaissance in Greek art: 'in the early seventh century . . . in city after city, almost overnight, the geometric convention, which had expressed the spirit of the community defending itself behind its walls, began to seem dull and lifeless compared with the exciting and opulent art to be seen on rich men's imported textiles or silver or bronze cups and bowls'. This graphic description has much imaginative truth, but it tends to obscure the facts that similar influences from the East had reached parts of Greece already in the ninth and eighth centuries, as was demonstrated for instance by T. J. Dunbabin, *The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours*, p. 45, and that the Greeks sallied forth from their city walls to a very remarkable degree in the course of the eighth century.

There is a Herodotean quality in Burn's range of interests, his charm of writing and his sense of humour. He includes excellent sections on the civilizations of East and West. The ancient Caucasians, we learn, 'like many mountain populations, exhibited extreme linguistic diversity; the most moderate travellers' tales said that seventy languages (other said 300) could be heard in Dioscurias' market-place . . . and they had invented crampons for snow-walking'. A place is found for the Sybarites' invention of the chamber-pot and the lack of lubricating oil in the screaming axle of Parmenides' visionary chariot. The lyric and elegiac writers are very well portrayed, and there are many neat translations of their poems. Unfortunately the book has no plates or line drawings, but within that limitation the Greek achievement in art, sculpture and architecture is well described. The six maps are clear but lack contours. There is a very spirited description of the ideas of the philosophical and religious thinkers of the period with wide-ranging comparisons. The book is well documented with references to the ancient sources and occasional citations of modern works.

The period bristles with problems, especially in the date and meaning of the Eunomia at Sparta and of Solon's reforms at Athens. Burn has strong views on most of them. He accepts a very early date for the Rhetra at Sparta, that is before the Rider was added by the kings Theopompus and Polydorus, but he ends up by placing the Eunomia itself about 600 B.C. and its full effects 'two generations' later. This divorce of the reform marked by the Rhetra and the Eunomia is not found at all in Herodotus, Thucydides, Plutarch and other ancient authorities; indeed parts of the contents of the Rhetra are given by Tyrtacus in his poem entitled 'the Eunomia'. His remarks on Solon's reforms are made obscure by his dating of coinage, because on p. 288 he says that Athens struck no coins of her own until after 600 B.C. and on p. 295 he remarks that by Solon's time—i.e. in 594 B.C.—Athens had had a coinage for some fifteen years and Solon himself changed the standard of Athenian coinage. This confusion may be due to Burn's use of a 'short' chronology which he defends in an Appendix. His general contention is that the Greek chronographers very often 'got their dates too early' by reckoning in unduly long generations, and he argues that even an event attributed to 519 B.C. by Thucydides was erroneously dated because Herodotus reckoned in a generation of 39 years (p. 407 with the cryptic equation 480 + 39). This general contention has been steadily losing ground: for example the sack of Troy is put by its excavator, Professor Blegen, around 1250 B.C. which accords well enough with Herodotus' statements; the colonization of Ionia in the Protogeometric age is carried back into the tenth century; the colonization of the West goes back to the second half of the eighth century where Thucydides put it; the discovery of an inscription at Ischia shows that the Greek alphabet was in use certainly before 750 B.C. The fact is that many modern scholars have been 'getting their dates too late' and carrying the hypothesis of genealogical reckoning into times when written records, dated by annual officials, were kept and transmitted. However these are all controversial issues, and even if we disagree with Burn's contentions he expresses them with clarity and vigour. His book is a very stimulating and most readable contribution to the history of an exciting period.

Clifton College, Bristol

N. G. L. HAMMOND

STUDIES IN ROMAN GOVERNMENT AND LAW. By A. H. M. Jones. Oxford:

Blackwell. 1960. viii + 243 pp. 30s.

Professor Jones has followed up his collection of essays on Greek themes with another containing ten articles on the law and practice of the Roman Principate. Of these seven have appeared previously in the pages of learned journals while three are new.

The book begins with three studies on the Augustan constitution. The first—‘The Imperium of Augustus’—is well known to all scholars as one of the very few writings of the past decade which has given rise to extensive re-thinking on the subject of Augustus’ powers. The view that Augustus received the full *consularis potestas* in 19 B.C. and derived from it the right of *nominatio*, jurisdiction within the city, and many of the other powers which he is known to have exercised, and for which on any other hypothesis it is so difficult to account, has won wide support, and it underlies much of Jones’ argument in the studies which follow. The second—‘The Censorial Powers of Augustus’—is a new attempt to sort out the tangled evidence concerning the dates of the various censuses and *lectio*nes of Augustus, and to reconcile the statements of Dio, Suetonius, and Augustus himself on the acceptance of a *cura morum*. The conclusion which is reached—that Augustus was content to conduct the census by virtue of a power latent in the consular *imperium* but that he insisted on taking a special power for a *lectio senatus*—is perhaps a rational one, but it is one which still leaves several loose ends in the evidence, notably the express statement of Suetonius that Augustus assumed a *morum legumque regimen* to conduct the census, and the implication of Dio that he held special powers in the year of his second census in 8 B.C. Third in this group comes ‘The Elections under Augustus’, a highly useful discussion of electoral procedure in the light of the literary evidence and the information to be derived from the newly discovered *Tabula Hebana*. Here the only serious qualm likely to be felt by scholars is over Jones’ literal acceptance of the statement of Tacitus that the elections were transferred to the Senate in A.D. 14 and over his consequent belief that the procedure of *destinatio* in the newly formed select assembly of senators and *equites* was rendered purely formal after only nine years. It is reasonable to assume that the original inclusion of *equites* in the body responsible for *destinatio*, like that of senators in the judicial decuries, was little more than a temporary concession to Republican precedent. As soon as the pattern of the new society became established, the desire of the *equites* to participate will have waned and they will have become less assiduous in their attendance. In the light of these developments, therefore, and of the situation in his own day, Tacitus can surely be excused for anachronistically using the word *senatus* to describe the *destinatio* assembly.

There follow two closely interconnected articles entitled ‘I Appeal unto Caesar’ and ‘Imperial and Senatorial Jurisdiction in the Early Principate’, in which Jones has many interesting and stimulating suggestions to make on what has long been a confused topic. The civil jurisdiction of the Princeps, it is argued, is easily understood as derived from the *imperium*. His right of acting on appeal in criminal cases came from a grant mentioned by Dio under 30 B.C., while capital proceedings in the Senate and in the emperor’s private court were an innovation which went back to a supposed clause in the *lex Julia de vi* which extended *exercitio iudicii publici* to all who had the

imperium of a consul. In this cynical age it is refreshing to find the view expressed that this clause in the *lex Julia* was not so much inspired by the eagerness of the Princeps to establish his own personal court as by a desire to confer greater judicial independence on the proconsuls of the Empire.

In 'The Aerarium and the Fiscus' which follows Jones makes an important contribution to the study of Imperial finance. Much is done to clear up the well-known problem of the *fiscus* by an examination of the senses in which the word was used by the literary sources, and there can now be no question that it could designate both a provincial chest and the private account of the Princeps. But Jones' contention that *fiscus* could also be used of an abstraction—a central financial administration—as early as the first and second century A.D. is by no means beyond dispute. We may well ask whether Tacitus in his account of the Tiberian confiscations or Seneca in an exact philosophical discourse would have been content to use a word which in its context could be ambiguous.

The seventh contribution—'Procurators and Prefects in the Early Principate'—is new, and is an attempt to trace the emergence of the title *procurator* as applied to regional governors in the Empire. The view expressed is that these officials were originally called *prefecti*, and that the change of title was a Claudian development more or less contemporary with the conferment of judicial powers on the financial procurators and made possible by the fact that the designation *procurator Augusti* had by this time acquired an official ring. In the two articles which follow—'The Dediticii and the Constitutio Antoniniana' and 'In eo solo dominium populi Romani est vel Caesaris'—the author concerns himself largely with demolishing Mommsen's views concerning the legal status of those who dwelt in the cities of the Empire and the ownership of provincial soil, while in the last section—'The Roman Civil Service (Clerical and Sub-clerical Grades)'—he conducts a detailed examination of the lower levels of the Imperial bureaucracy.

Altogether this is a very useful publication, but it is one which would have been much more serviceable if the publisher had not insisted on saving expense by relegating the notes to the back of the volume. In specialized writing of this kind where notes are so numerous and so vital to a full appreciation of the argument in the text, the need constantly to refer to another page can be very trying for the reader, and as a consequence there may be many who will still prefer to consult the more readily accessible articles in their original form.

Bedford College, London

E. S. STAVELEY

THE FACE OF THE ANCIENT ORIENT (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960. xvi + 328 pp. 30s.) is a translation of Sabatino Moscati's *Il Profilo dell'Oriente Mediterraneo*. In it the Professor of Semitic Philology in the University of Rome expounds for the general reader the life and achievements of the great civilizations that preceded for a thousand years and laid the bases for the genius of Greece. He ends fittingly with the quotation, 'Whatever the Greeks take over from foreigners, they transform it by making it something finer'.

John Mario Allegro has followed up his *People of the Dead Sea Scrolls* with a detailed account of one of the most mysterious of the scrolls. THE TREASURE

OF THE COPPER SCROLL (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1960. 190 pp. 35s.), with facsimiles, plates and plans, describes a scroll giving lists of treasure, probably mostly from the Temple in Jerusalem and buried by the Zealots in A.D. 68 at the time of the revolt that was quelled by Vespasian.

Two recent additions by recognized authorities to the *Ancient Peoples and Places* series are THE ORIGINS OF ROME (London: Thames and Hudson. 1960. 212 pp. 60 plates. 30s.) by Raymond Bloch, and BRITTANY (1960. 272 pp. 73 plates. 30s.) by P. R. Gööt, J. L'Helgouach and J. Briard.

ROMAN COINS: FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE (London: Methuen. 1960. xiii + 330 pp. and 64 illustrations. 63s.) is a second edition of Dr. Harold Mattingly's scholarly but difficult book published in 1927. The original form has been retained but much has been rewritten and the whole reset.

POMPEII AND HERCULANEUM: THE GLORY AND THE GRIEF (London: Elek Books. 1960. 237 pp. 132 illus. 63s.) is finely illustrated with photographs by Edwin Smith. It has a very readable text by Marcel Brion.

A useful and reliable handbook to the Roman Wall between Forth and Clyde, well illustrated with plans and photographs, has been produced by Anne S. Robertson in THE ANTONINE WALL (Glasgow Archaeological Society. 1960. 97 pp.).

ROME REVEALED (London: Thames and Hudson. 1960. 244 pp. £4 4s.) contains 151 plates, 41 in colour, and all in a large format, illustrating the history of Rome from Etruscan sculpture to the Termini Station. It is a fine pictorial record. The text, by the novelist Aubrey Menen, should be regarded as one man's impressions, sometimes shrewd and sometimes naïve, of the past and present of Rome.

An account of Rome in which 17 pages are devoted to its history and the remainder of the book to the description, in turn, of emperors, citizens, subjects and slaves; astrology, religion and philosophy; literature, art and architecture, may strike the reader first by what is omitted. Michael Grant's THE WORLD OF ROME (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 1960. xxi + 322 pp. 42s.) is a volume in a new series on the 'History of Civilization'. Politics, constitutions, law, the legions, trade and industry are touched upon only slightly: the Index being confined to a mere list of names, it is difficult to be sure that any subject is not mentioned at all. On the other hand the general reader will not complain of what is absent when he is given so much that he could only find with difficulty elsewhere, presented with ease and enthusiasm, and with a wealth of relevant illustration. This applies also to the 64 pages of photographs and the liberal extracts from Latin prose and poetry. The deepest impression left by Mr. Grant is of the crudity, brutality and superstition which Rome shares with other great civilisations; but he also gives us chapters written with affection and admiration on the literature and architecture of the Empire. This is a book to be read with the enjoyment with which it was obviously written.

D. M. Low's abridgement of Gibbon's *DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1960. xviii + 924 pp. 36s.) is a scholarly affair, the editor having done his best to include whole chapters wherever possible, but a complete version can be bought for very little more.

OLD AND NEW ATHENS (London: Putman, 1960. 13 illus. 379 pp. 35s.) provides the English reader with an excellent historical guide-book to Medieval and Turkish Athens. Mr. Robert Liddel has given a pleasing translation and a concise edition of the authoritative study by Demetrios Sicilianos—a work which was honoured by the Greek Academy.

MEDIEVAL

CONSTANTINOPLE IN THE AGE OF JUSTINIAN. By Glanville Downey. University of Oklahoma Press, 1960. 181 pp. \$2.75.

This is the third of a series entitled *The Centres of Civilization* published by the University of Oklahoma: if the others on Athens and Shiraz are in line with its approach and achievement, something of real use to serious students has been started. Professor Downey of Dumbarton Oaks makes clear in a few pages his standpoint in time and place before methodically sketching individual aspects of Byzantine civilization in its first golden age. Even when on well-trodden ground the author brings a fresh and clear vision: this is particularly noticeable when he deals with the Liturgy (where he sees that more guidance is needed in these days) and with the conflict between Christian and Classical letters. An excellently selected and annotated bibliography of less than 40 titles shows where the political history—which is not attempted—can be found and specialist interests expanded. This is ideal reading for the non-specialist who wants to know something of the meaning of Byzantine civilization without being overloaded with new factual material. There is much carefully based argument to think over, as the author seems quite undisturbed by restriction of space. The picture drawn may be a little too rosy and some doubts at the end might be expanded into damaging criticism of the civilization, but it is difficult to conceive a short book achieving its purpose better than this.

St. Paul's School

P. D. WHITTING

KARAITES IN BYZANTIUM. By Zvi Ankori. Columbia University Press: O.U.P. 1959. xiii + 546 pp. 80s.

This careful and learned book is primarily of interest to students of Jewish religious history. It provides a full account of the activities of the important Karaite sect from the time of the Karaite migration into Byzantine territory in the eleventh century, dealing in particular with the problem of their relations with their old centre at Jerusalem. But students of Byzantine history will also learn much from it. Byzantine writers tell us very little about the Jews and do not distinguish between various sects. We can discover here not only how the Byzantines treated their religious minorities politically but also how the trade-routes along which the Karaite immigrants moved were operating at the time, and much else about Byzantine commerce and urban

life. The book is not easy to read. It is full of sociological jargon; and the immense footnotes are not always strictly relevant. But Byzantinists as well as Hebraists will find it well worth the effort.

STEVEN RUNCIMAN

A HISTORY OF GREEK FIRE AND GUNPOWDER. By J. R. Partington.

Cambridge: Heffer. 1960. xvi + 381 pp. 70s.

In this admirable work, which contains far more than is suggested by its title, Professor J. R. Partington traces the use of incendiaries and explosives in warfare from the Assyrians to modern times. He pays special attention to descriptions of Greek fire, first used in the defence of Constantinople in the seventh century, and his chemical knowledge leads him to conclude that it was almost certainly based on petroleum thickened with resinous substances, and did not, as has often been supposed, contain saltpetre. After a very thorough examination of the evidence Professor Partington concludes that purified saltpetre was not known in Europe before about 1225, and that knowledge of it probably came from Arab sources. He shows that as early as 1044 deflagrating mixtures containing saltpetre were used in China; gunpowder developed from these, but it is not known whether the Arabs learnt its use from the Chinese. Professor Partington also discusses the history of firearms, and finds that cannon were first mentioned in Europe in 1326, and were known in China about the same time. Again, it is impossible to say whether the invention was made independently in the two continents. The book also contains an interesting account of the development of heavy artillery in Europe, Muslim lands and Asia, and shorter accounts of soap and saltpetre manufacture. It is a work which should be studied carefully by military historians as well as historians of science and technology.

University College, London

W. A. SMEATON

IN THE ORIGINS OF FARMING IN RUSSIA (Paris—The Hague: Mouton. 1959. 198 pp. 48s.) R. E. F. Smith has succeeded in presenting a lucid and scholarly account of the evolution of agricultural implements and techniques in the territory of present-day European Russia over the period of 4000 years that ended with the Mongol conquest. He has done so by combining the comparatively well-known, though meagre, evidence of the written sources with the new data supplied by Soviet archaeological research, which have hitherto been largely inaccessible to those with no knowledge of Russian. In the first half of the book, after a concise and illuminating examination of the influence of the natural environment, which provides a solid foundation for all that follows, the various methods of obtaining food are considered and placed in their historical context in the light of the available evidence. These include gathering, slash and burn farming, shifting farming, and field farming. The second half is a study of the social and agrarian relations in the societies in which these methods were practised. If he had done no more than produce a work of synthesis, making available the evidence to a wider audience, Mr. Smith would have made an important contribution to the study of early Russian economic history in the West. But he also casts a critical and objective eye over the theories that Soviet historians have constructed on the basis of this evidence; and this greatly increases the value of his work. He points out the dangers, seen in the work of some of the followers

of the late B. D. Grekov, of leaning too heavily on comparisons with other, unrelated societies, when trying to fill in the gaps in early Russian history; the limitations of an approach that relies primarily on the typological classification of surviving implements; and the fallibility of attempts to deduce methods of soil cultivation from the implements used. His criticisms, based on hard facts of farming frequently overlooked by academic historians, are just and entirely convincing. The excellent illustrations of early agricultural implements, the maps and bibliography are a further indication of the thoroughness and skill with which the author has performed his valuable task.

School of Slavonic and E. European Studies, London

A. D. STOKES

For undergraduates and sixth-formers the translations of historical sources in Columbia University's *Records of Civilization* series have long been invaluable. The latest volume (no. lxi) **THE MURDER OF CHARLES THE GOOD, COUNT OF FLANDERS** by Galbert of Bruges (Columbia University Press: O.U.P. 1960. xiv + 352 pp. 54s.), translated by J. B. Ross, is especially to be welcomed, not only because Pirenne's edition of the Latin text has long been unobtainable, but also because Galbert's 'Record' is one of the most vivid documents of the whole Middle Ages. Galbert, a notary of Bruges, describes the events leading up to the murder of the Count while he was at prayer in the church of St. Donatian on 2 March 1127, and gives a day-to-day account of the following six weeks. He tells how the murderers were besieged in the castle of Bruges, captured and executed, how King Louis VI of France set up William Clito as count, and how the burghers of Bruges and Ghent eventually rebelled in favour of Count Thierry. Galbert makes no attempt to conceal his own hopes and fears, which pull him first this way and then that, and the way he tells his story enables us to see the various bonds of society in a twelfth-century town—the loyalty of kindred, class, economic groups, religion and nationality. As a book to inspire the beginner with the excitement of medieval history it is a gift from the gods. Professor Ross' translation is reliable, and his introductions and footnotes (sometimes almost too copious) give the student all the necessary information, together with a plan of Bruges in 1127, a map of twelfth-century Flanders, and a study of the church of St. Donatian. It is most warmly recommended.

Merton College, Oxford

R. H. C. DAVIS

The great German contributions to western thought fall for the most part outside the middle ages. To set us wondering why this should be so is the main service of Professor M. Seidlmayer's essay *Weltbild und Kultur Deutschlands im Mittelalter* from the first volume of L. Just's *Handbuch d. deutschen Geschichte*, now published in a fluent translation by Mr. D. Barker under the title **CURRENTS OF MEDIEVAL THOUGHT WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GERMANY** (Oxford: Blackwell. 1960. vii + 175 pp. 25s.). Dr. Seidlmayer offers us an interpretation, not a textbook. But he indicates the general European story, of which specifically German developments were only occasionally more than belated provincial manifestations; he is aware of the value, for the history of ideas, of art and architecture as well as of literature and learning; his bibliographical references, inevitably selective, seem on the whole apt and up-to-date. Why, then, does this essay fail to

satisfy? Partly perhaps because Dr. Seidlmayer does not often convince us that he has enjoyed the authors whom he discusses; only rarely (for instance, when he is dealing with the German courtly epic or with Nicholas of Cues) does enough personal enthusiasm break through to threaten the reader with contagion. Then for a few pages the book does become alive, but it falls back all too soon into competent, careful commonplace. From time to time we meet big, general judgements (e.g. Hildegard of Bingen as 'the greatest German intellect' of the twelfth century), which are at once defensible and disputable, and so, lacking more discussion than Dr. Seidlmayer has found space for, tend to sound both peremptory and flat. But, as it seems to me, the book's main weakness is lack of balance. Early on Dr. Seidlmayer commits himself to this opinion: 'The central, governing theme of medieval history is . . . the subordination of all earthly attributes to a purely clerical design—at least in principle—and the succeeding process of emancipating them step by step.' In his view considerable progress in this emancipation was made during the Hohenstaufen epoch, about which he is not sparing in his superlatives. Then, as it were, 'art stopped short'—and the rest of the middle ages is to be regarded as a long decline during which human intelligence stagnated until reawakened by the Renaissance. Like many of his compatriots, Dr. Seidlmayer looks with distaste on the history of his country during the later middle ages; he certainly gives German intellectual life at this time short shrift. Have we not got beyond the stage of accepting that 'the trade in learning led them [the late medieval schoolmen] round and round in pompous circles in a desert of petty distinctions and pedantic quarrels'? The universities came late to Germany, indeed, but Dr. Seidlmayer's lack of sympathy with scholasticism leads him to reduce its impact on German thought beyond all reasonable measure. He does not mention Dietrich von Freiberg, Lupold von Bebenburg, Konrad von Megenberg, Konrad von Gelnhausen or Heinrich von Langenstein: all men trained in the schools, who evinced an active and sometimes creative interest in the intellectual, social and political problems of their times. Is it not significant that we habitually refer to the glory of fourteenth-century German mysticism—Master Eckhart—by his university title?

University of Durham

H. S. OFFLER

ENGLISH BARONIES: A STUDY OF THEIR ORIGIN AND DESCENT, 1086-1327.

By I. J. Sanders. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1960. xiv + 203 pp. 35s.
 There are few medieval words which have invited more discussion than *baro* and *baronia*. Their interpretation varies in different contexts and centuries. Dr. Sanders has primarily restricted his list of baronies to those for which he has found evidence for a higher rate of relief paid on succession to a tenancy in chief than the 5 *li.* on a knight's fee. In the twelfth century the higher rate was usually arbitrary, often paid as a result of composition; and Magna Carta decreed that the relief on a barony should be fixed at 100 *li.*, which was later reduced to 100 marks.

The first portion of the book contains a list of about a hundred and thirty baronies for which the author has found this evidence; and he is to be congratulated on his successful research, mainly from the Pipe Rolls and other Exchequer material, much of which is unprinted. It would, perhaps, have been preferable to incorporate these valuable details in the text rather

than in footnotes. The second portion of the book contains a list of about seventy 'probable' baronies, which includes such important castleries as Alnwick, Bramber and Lewes. The honorial baronage is outside the scope of the work.

It must be realized that the high amount of relief is only one of the criteria for baronial tenure; and it must not be forgotten that even in the thirteenth century the possession of certain jurisdictional rights suggested a test of tenure *per baroniam*. The *cartae baronum* of 1166 and the returns of 1212 for Northumberland contain examples of baronies of a single knight's fee, and Round in a well-known paper showed that for some of them only the 5 *li.* relief was paid.

Dr. Sanders has collected a great deal of material which will be of value to those engaged in family or topographical history. Descents, especially in the twelfth century, are often difficult to establish; and he has avoided many of the pitfalls due to an unauthorized tradition. On p. 24 William le Meschin is given wrongly as the son and heir of Stephen count of Aumale—a confusion between a lady called Cecily and her grand-daughter of the same name; and the details are given correctly on p. 142. The formation of the Hooton Pagnell barony on p. 55 requires reconsideration; and the revised pedigree of Luvetot of Southoe on p. 80 seems to be chronologically unsound. But points such as these can be amended in a future edition.

The book has the great advantage of a good index; and a useful appendix would have been a bibliography of many of the articles written on this complicated subject, such as Miss Reid's paper 'Barony and Thanage' in the English Historical Review in 1920, and Round's paper in *Magna Carta Commemoration Essays* in 1917.

CHARLES CLAY

THE ORIGINS OF THE MODERN ROMAN LITURGY: THE LITURGY OF THE PAPAL COURT AND THE FRANCISCAN ORDER IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. By S. J. P. Van Dijk, O.F.M., and J. Hazelden Walker.

London: Darton, Longman and Todd. 1960. xxxi + 586 pp. 70s.

The study of liturgy has still a great deal to teach us about the history of the medieval Church. But it is a highly technical science, and many basic problems in medieval liturgical history are unresolved. It has long been known, for instance, that the twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw great changes, which led to the establishment under the auspices of the papal Curia of the ancestor of the modern breviary. It has also long been known that the Franciscans played some part in this story; and in recent years, in a series of important articles, Father Van Dijk has done much to show the nature of their contribution. Now his own studies and those of Dr. Joan Hazelden Walker have been put together in a substantial book, which is the fruit of an immense amount of detailed research, largely on liturgical manuscripts of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They argue that the history of the breviary began in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, not in any 'abbreviation' of the office, but simply in the collecting of various materials in a new way; that 'breviary' simply means 'a compilation'. They see these new compilations as part of a growing interest in liturgical reform, which led Innocent III and his successors to revise the ordinal and other books of the curial chapel. To reform the liturgy was one thing; to

spread the reformed uses another. It so happened that St. Francis, in his rule, insisted that the friars who were clerics should recite the office according to the order of the Holy Roman Church. As the Order grew and the number of clerics in it increased, this led to difficulties, which induced the eminent Minister General Haymo of Faversham (1240-4) to begin a major revision of the books in use in the Order, based on the reforms of Innocent III and Honorius III. This reform was completed by Haymo's successors; and so the revised missal and breviary of the papal chapel came to be widely used all over Christendom. The days when Rome would enforce uniformity lay far in the future, but the work of Haymo made the Roman books popular, and so made a measure of uniformity a practical possibility.

This, in rough outline, is the story told in rich detail in this book. There is much that is new, and much that liturgical scholars will want to scrutinize before it can be generally accepted. Whatever the final verdict, the book's contribution, in ideas and detailed research, is very considerable. Inevitably it raises certain doubts, even at first reading. It is full of technical arguments, which require very precise and lucid statement; too often the authors are allusive and unclear—one sighs for the sharp precision of an Edmund Bishop. In the discussion of Haymo's authorship of some of the revisions one reads '... the different style of the documents issued after Haymo's death ... are a certain proof that he himself must have been the author of those compiled before 1244'. But the next sentence begins 'If the evidence concerning the authorship is vague ...'. Similarly, in studying the origin of the breviary, they quote interesting figures of the surviving samples from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. 'Whatever one may think about the results of the science of statistics, the following proportion of the various types collected can scarcely be a fake'; and they argue that because more monastic breviaries survive than secular, the breviary is monastic in origin, and because very few portable breviaries survive they were very rare in this period. Both conclusions may be correct, but it can hardly be said that the evidence supports them. They argue on the basis of 112 surviving manuscripts, a tiny percentage of what must once have existed. Liturgical books had a notoriously slender chance of survival; but those fared best which lay on the shelves of well-established libraries, of which far the largest number in this period were monastic. It is, indeed, a wonder that any portable breviaries survived at all. Moreover, the sections on Franciscan history, though full of life and interest, tend to over-dramatize the sorrows of Francis's last years, and to lean on some of the unproved legends of early Franciscan history, such as the baneful directive influence of Cardinal Hugolino (later Pope Gregory IX) and Brother Elias. But these weaknesses do not prevent the book from being a gold-mine of valuable material for the history of the liturgy in an important, and comparatively neglected, phase of its history.

ROSALIND BROOKE

THE REGISTERS OF ROGER MARTIVAL, BISHOP OF SALISBURY 1315-1330:
 vol. i, THE REGISTER OF PRESENTATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS TO
 BENEFICES. Edited by Kathleen Edwards. Canterbury and York Society,
 vol. lv, 1960. xvi + 520 pp.

Roger Martival was a scholar and a conscientious diocesan bishop who lived at a period when bishops' registers were fully and carefully kept. His own

registers are four in number, and the present volume is to be followed by the Registers of Royal Writs received by the bishop, of Divers Letters, and of Inhibitions of the Court of Canterbury and Acts of the Consistory Court.

The first instalment is here printed with its own excellent indexes, so necessary in record publications of this kind. It has some unusual features. In most dioceses, the registers of institutions were written up from memoranda some time after the events, and do not give information about the presentations of the candidates and enquiries about them which had taken place before the bishop admitted and instituted them. Later on, this became the practice at Salisbury too. But Martival's, like Simon of Ghent's before him, was a working register in which were entered the contemporary memoranda giving the dates of presentations and the results of enquiries about the presentees as well as the formal details of institutions. (It should be noted, however, that the names of previous incumbents are not regularly given.) This information has been set out, justifiably and intelligently, in the English abstracts, even though the bulk of the printed volume has been thereby increased. The various notes and signs in the margins of this working register which sometimes indicate disputed presentations, or reports made to papal collectors, have also been shown.

An assessment of Martival's qualities, and the progress of church reform in his diocese, must await the publication of subsequent volumes. But a reflection on the great mass of information already in print is prompted by three entries which show us churches farmed or leased by their rectors. In one, a rector had sold a two-year lease of his church to another rector and then died intestate. The lessee became custodian of the intestate's sequestrated property, but was allowed to dispose freely of the revenues he was deemed to have bought. In another case, a man papally provided to the rectory of Bradford on Avon got leave from the bishop to farm out chapels and portions of the church for two successive periods of five years. In a third case, the bishop of Hereford appears as presenting patron of a vicarage because the chapter of Hereford had granted him the farm of the church.

In the vast majority of cases there was no call to allude in the register to churches as objects of material value. Occasionally this aspect appears in a veiled way, as when the reason for an exchange of benefices is given as the persecution of one of the incumbents who has no powerful friends in his present part of the country. But however full and careful the work of medieval scribe and modern editor, we can be sure that behind the due stages of canonical procedure there lies concealed a whole world of business arrangements. Of these we have had glimpses above. It was the same in all dioceses. The systematic exchange of benefices ('chop-churches') was but one, rather dramatic, form of a financial activity common yet obscure enough to reduce even Hamilton Thompson to speculation. May his successors also spare a thought for Mammon.

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F. R. H. DU BOULAY

SOME MANORIAL ACCOUNTS OF ST. AUGUSTINE'S ABBEY, BRISTOL. Ed. by A. Sabin. Bristol Record Society Publications, xxii. 1960. viii + 221 pp. £2 2s.

THE SIBTON ABBEY ESTATES: SELECT DOCUMENTS 1325-1509. Ed. by A. H. Denney. Suffolk Record Society Publications, ii. 1960. 170 pp.

THE STONELEIGH LEGER BOOK. Ed. by R. H. Hilton. O.U.P. for the Dugdale Society. 1960. lxiv + 293 pp.

The three volumes under review excellently illustrate the way in which local record societies, in face of rising costs and mounting difficulties, continue to add to the evidence for medieval English history available in print. All three contain records of monastic houses of relatively late (i.e. mid-twelfth-century) foundation; all contain material of value especially to the social and economic historian; and between them they encompass most of the types of record relating to the late medieval countryside. In combination, therefore, their importance and usefulness are considerable.

Mr. Sabin prints accounts rolls for most of the manors of St. Augustine's abbey for the years 1491-2 and 1496-7; adds notes on each of the manors (including transcripts of the 1428 valuation of the abbey's temporalities, the accounts of the royal receiver in 1540-1 and occasionally other documents); and discusses in an introduction the history from the late fourteenth century of the manor of Abbotsleigh, a retreat to which the abbot went, as Abbot Burton told Thomas Cromwell, 'for the comfortable health of my body and for the saving of expenses'. The accounts cover property in Gloucestershire and Somerset, an outlier in Dorset and others on the Welsh side of the Bristol Channel. They derive, of course, from a time when most of the abbey's property was leased out and therefore we see the agricultural life of the time, so to speak, from a distance; but, in combination with the contemporary obedientiary rolls published by the same Society in 1938, they do tell us much about the abbey's system of estate-management at the end of the middle ages. In addition, they illustrate the composite character of the abbey's manors, built up by successive and often small-scale acquisitions, and the importance of tithe in its revenue. The full summaries of leases contained in the accounts are also valuable; and a number of them provide for the payment of at least some rent in kind, generally for provisioning the abbey. A map would have helped the stranger to the west country and perhaps more consistency in using modern place-names; but that in no way calls in question the usefulness of making these accounts generally available.

The documents from the Cistercian abbey of Sibton are more various: an extent of the demesne in 1325, part of a rental for 1328, the bursar's account for 1363-4 (one of a series covering the years 1363-72), a rental of 1484 and an account for 1508-9 (again one of a series). The documents are too various to permit close statistical comparison between different points of time, but they do allow us to seize upon broad social and economic movements. In Mr. Denney's own words, the pre-1349 materials 'suggest a system of demesne farming which was very soon to give way to an economy of money rents. The first compotus of 1363-4 . . . shows the beginning of this process. The second rental of 1484 and the compotus of 1508-9 show . . . the abbey is now almost entirely dependent upon rents.' In addition, we may note the seeming contrast between the two rentals: that of 1328 appears to record a multitude of minuscule holdings, but that of 1484 displays some men engrossing tenements and adding to them from the demesne and the granges. There is much else in these records. A good deal can be learned about the local trade of East Anglia from the account of 1363-6; and that of 1508-9 throws light on a new venture, the dairy farm at North Grange. The milk was turned mainly into cheese and butter, but we also find the staff engaged in weaving

and fulling flax and wool. Here is another facet of the development of a rural textile industry. We may hope that Mr. Denney will print, or at least publish in calendar form, more of the records of Sibton abbey.

Most famous of the documents considered here, however, is the Leger Book of Stoneleigh abbey in Warwickshire. It was used by Dugdale, and Vinogradoff said of it: it 'gives a better insight into the conditions of ancient demesne than any other document I know of. Its publication would be particularly desirable in the interests of social history.' The Dugdale Society set out to obey this injunction as long ago as 1922; the register was transcribed by Dr. Nellie Neilson before 1939; and now it sees the light of day under the care of Dr. Hilton. Compiled c. 1392 by William Pype, a former abbot of Stoneleigh whose career makes interesting (though not edifying) reading, it comprises a chartulary, a brief chronicle of English history, a history of the abbots of Stoneleigh, a statement of the customs of the manor, and a rental of Stoneleigh and its hamlets at the end of the fourteenth century which is informative about the descent of peasant tenements. The editing conforms to the high standard we expect of the Dugdale Society, though the writ exempting the vill of Stoneleigh from contributing to the wages of M.P.s. (p. 112) should be dated 1455 and not 1249!

So comprehensive a historical document throws light upon many dark places, but its chief importance remains its detailed documentation of the history of Stoneleigh and its hamlets. These territories, before the abbey acquired them, had been part of the royal demesne and Vinogradoff depended heavily upon material from the Leger Book to establish the character of the 'privileged villeinage' of ancient demesne. In his view, 'although a kind of villeinage', it 'closely resembled freehold' and contained 'a remnant of the condition of things before the Conquest' of which, in some degree or another, the king was guardian. Vinogradoff's notion of ancient demesne has been substantially, perhaps conclusively, called in question by R. S. Hoyt. For the latter, the idea of ancient demesne emerged gradually in the thirteenth century in consequence of the king's efforts beginning under Henry II, in the interests of royal power and profit, to extend the range of action of the royal justices. Such a view clearly calls in question the ancientness of the conditions of 'privileged' villein tenure. Yet even if we go most of the way with Hoyt, there are still problems to be faced. There are the rents paid by the 'privileged' villein at Stoneleigh. His acres are penny acres, a level not necessarily pre-conquestual but still archaic by the thirteenth century. And what do we make of the provision that he gives 'heriettum integrum, scilicet unum equum et hernesium et arma si habuerint'. This looks like an echo of the Saxon *heregeat*.

Dr. Hilton deals with this controversy in his introduction, but somewhat inconclusively and in loose connection with another matter. He sees among all classes of Stoneleigh tenants a great deal of freedom, by which he seems to mean a predominance of rents over labour services; and he regards this as a consequence of 'the vigorous extension of the cultivated area in the old woodland of Arden'. We need in no way dissent from this view. The modest services of the 'privileged' villeins themselves may be connected with the fact that their ancestors were early settlers in an area of colonization. 'Privileged' villeins, however, were only about one-seventh of the landholders of Stoneleigh in 1280. Their contemporaries also held mainly for money rents: in that

sense they, too, were 'free'. Yet they were apt to hold for higher rents than the 'privileged' villeins paid and to hold more precariously—for life or at will, so that their rents could be raised as those of the 'privileged' villeins could not. Low and fixed rents, rather than the unimportance of services, may have been the 'freedom' which mattered to the 'privileged' villein; and low and fixed rents were an outcome of Crown protection and of the peculiarities of ancient demesne tenure. 'Privileged' villeins were often 'the leading men of the court of Stoneleigh', much occupied by dealing in land and prominent in that work of engrossing peasant property into larger blocks which Dr. Hilton describes with cogency and clarity. Whatever may have been the legal history of ancient demesne and whatever the motives governing royal protection of its inhabitants, the economic consequences remain. The Stoneleigh villein was a 'privileged' villein, from one point of view, because his tenure 'closely resembled freehold'. In the inflationary circumstances of the thirteenth century that might be the ground of prosperity. Perhaps we ought to conclude that there is more than one sort of freedom; that the freedom which really mattered in the middle ages was not always that which has seemed most important in our modern eyes; and that liability to rack-renting as well as to labour rents might be a species of servitude.

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EDWARD MILLER

RUSSIA AT THE DAWN OF THE MODERN AGE. By George Vernadsky. Yale University Press: O.U.P. 1960. ix + 347 pp. 6s.

This is the fourth volume of the History of Russia by G. Vernadsky and M. Karpovich which is appearing in the United States of America. The work is being carried out on a scale which provokes comparison with the standard works on Russian history by Solovyev and Kluchevsky. Such a comparison, as regards this volume, can certainly be made, involving as it does a great knowledge of the authorities and what is important in Russian studies of the work done in the Soviet Union in recent years. The author has not only had the advantage of access to these important new investigations, but they enable him to reassess many old theories about the character and importance of such rulers as Ivan III. His Bibliography is in itself a historical document showing the great volume of work that has been done in Russia itself in recent years to edit and re-edit sources, as well as the work done abroad by Russian exiles.

A few examples may be mentioned to show how this work differs from the earlier views on Russian history. The idea that the Mongols ruled Moscow till 1480 appears to be untrue. The old theory that 'Moscow, the Third Rome' was associated with Ivan III's marriage to a Byzantine princess is quite exploded—she was probably sent to Moscow to marry the Grand Duke under the influence of the Vatican which hoped that she would convert him to Catholicism. Another virtue which the author displays is in his treatment of the fall of Novgorod, where previous historians have tended to show the same animus against the 'Westernism' of that great city republic that was felt by the rulers of Moscow. Similarly, whereas the relations of Moscow with Lithuania and Poland have always been matters of bitter traditional polemics, Professor Vernadsky not only shows us the attitudes of the different rulers in an impartial manner, but gives due respect to the Polish as well as the Russian writers on the subject.

Professor Vernadsky's previous volumes are well known and appreciated. This volume, dealing with more contentious subjects, shows great authority in dealing with the facts and tolerance in showing the actions of the groups and individuals concerned. It throws great light on a neglected period of Russian history. Among its many qualities one should mention the assistance given to the reader by ten invaluable pages of genealogical tables.

A. BRUCE BOSWELL

An edition of the fifteenth-century manuscript of Prester John's letter to 'the Emperor of Rome and the King of France, our friends', is an example of a highly successful piece of research with a strictly limited aim. Dr. V. Slessarev establishes in his *PRESTER JOHN: THE LETTER AND THE LEGEND* (University of Minnesota Press: O.U.P. 1959. 127 pp. 48s.) that the original writer of the Letter was probably a twelfth-century western European who had spent part of his life in the Crusading principalities, and there noted down the vague but persistent rumours of a great Christian king of India named Prester John. In this period of Moslem counter-attack in the Holy Land, his object may have been to bolster up the morale of the Crusaders by raising their hopes of relief by an ally who could take the Moslems in the rear. The story had undergone several stages of re-telling and embroidery before the French edition, and meantime, Prester John's kingdom had been transferred from India to Ethiopia, where the Portuguese were to seek it in 1520.

The author convincingly disentangles the interwoven strands of myth and fact. The facts consisted of the existence of Nestorian and Jacobite Christians in south India, and that, at the very moment when they were capturing Edessa in 1144, the Moslems were suffering a disastrous check from the Tartars, led by a Buddhist or Manichaean ruler, somewhere near Samarkand. The rest was legend, the reminiscence in medieval Europe of accounts written a thousand years before concerning the wealth and size of India. The legend, however, contributed to the inspiration behind western European expansion in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and hence the interest of the manuscript preserved in the John Ford Bell Collection of the University of Minnesota Library. The book has been excellently printed and produced, though the price seems on the high side.

Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge

W. H. C. FREND

MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE STUDIES. By T. E. Mommsen. Edited by E. F. Rice. Cornell University Press: O.U.P. 1960. xiii + 353 pp. 46s. This attractive collection of essays has been grouped by the editor in three sections: studies in the diplomatic and military history of Italy and the Empire, 1316-1687; Petrarchan studies; and studies in early Christian historiography. The middle section, Petrarchan studies, is the longest, reflecting Mommsen's special interest in Cornell University Library's Petrarch Collection, and it presents the poet in a very human light, particularly in the essay on his last will. The more strictly historical approach, however, in the essay on Petrarch's conception of the 'Dark Ages' is disappointing, because it depicts him as an isolated thinker. But in fact Petrarch's exhortations to Cola di Rienzo to take heed of Rome's classical heritage were superfluous, for Cola was in the act of reviving the Roman republic, nor was the dream confined to these two Italians, since at the very

least many Romans shared it. Similarly Petrarch's conception of Italy as one unit was hardly a novelty, as witness no less an authority than Dante. Even the poet's interest in classical literature is not quite so new a departure as the essay suggests, for it is a fact, too frequently overlooked, that the bulk of the texts of the classical authors reached the scholars of the renaissance only because their predecessors in the 'dark ages' admired them so much that they preserved them for posterity by laboriously copying them. A certain lack of historical perspective is again perceptible in the section on Italy and the Empire, which neglects the fact that the inability of the emperors to control Germany during the thirteenth century was the root cause of their failure to make good their claims over Italy. But Mommsen's intuitive sympathy for the particular interests of an individual is again well to the fore in his study of the divergencies between Augustine's theory of history and that of his pupil Orosius.

The book taken as a whole offers particularly helpful reading for students beginning serious historical studies as it provides an instructive and an attractive introduction to the use of diplomatic and artistic evidence for historical purposes.

Queen Mary College, London

DIONE CLEMENTI

GERSON AND THE GREAT SCHISM. By John B. Morrall. Manchester University Press. 1960. x + 132 pp. 25s.

When one considers that Gerson's writings fill five folio tomes—excluding works edited subsequent to the *Opera Omnia* (1706)—one cannot but be astonished at the boldness of an attempt to examine his ecclesiology within the compass of some 120 pages, of which nearly 30 are devoted to 'Career and Background' and which add nothing to our knowledge about Gerson. Certainly, the idea of presenting Gerson's ecclesiology was a good one. In view of the great amount of work done in the last decades it would have been very worth while to analyse the doctrinal elements of Gerson's ecclesiology and to throw them against the antecedent and contemporary background so as to bring them into clear relief. To do this, however, would have required a much greater penetration, better equipment and a larger canvas. What the author has actually done, is to give a summary of the contents of Gersonian writings and so merely outline the remedies suggested by Gerson for the ending of the Schism. But this has already been done, and better. Contrary to what one has been led to expect from the preface, the author does not in any way deal analytically and exegetically with Gerson's ecclesiastical views, but gives a pedestrian description of those tracts, speeches and sermons, etc., which he considers relevant and which, in his opinion, reflect the stages of Gerson's development of thought. An adequate analysis of these alone would have filled a multiple of the space,¹ but here there is not even an attempt to relate the numerous doctrinal points to antecedent doctrines or to discuss them at least in the light of Gerson's contemporaries, such as Langenstein, Gelnhausen, Niem, Clémanges, etc. A few pages deal with Gerson and d'Ailly. Yet, in every page the controversies behind this or that

¹ The titles of Gersonian writings given in the book are sometimes incorrect, sometimes incomplete. On p. 86 f. a tract is ascribed to Gerson, while on p. 112, n. 2 the same tract appears as one of d'Ailly's, where it is adduced to prove the similarity of ideas and writing between Gerson and d'Ailly. A number of Gersonian tracts dealing with ecclesiastical questions are absent from this book.

point stare the reader in the face; nearly every point raised evokes in one's mind a thick cluster of ancestral interpretations. Modern authors hardly get a hearing, although so many items have been dealt with by them. Of medieval writers only Ockham is thought to merit some observations, but have we not progressed in our knowledge of jurisprudential themes, those very themes which are essential to medieval and Gerson's ecclesiology? There is here not even a verification of Gerson's own attributions² or a critical assessment of them. Even amongst the few historical sources quoted, obvious errors occur.³

There is a useful, though incomplete bibliography which is also marred by quite irrelevant entries. Dupin's edition, on which Mr. Morrall relies, comprises five volumes, and not four as here stated. I have found no echo in the book of the views set forth by K. Schäfer who appears in the bibliography as C. Schaffer, nor have I found that the author profited from the work of Schneider on Gerson's views on law and justice.⁴ Duns' work is called *opus Oxoniense* (and not: *Oxoniensis*).⁵ The reader might have been told who 'Dionysius' was: the Areopagita's reputation began to increase greatly in the fourteenth century. One must, with regret, say that this is a disappointing book, because the subject was so eminently worth while.

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WALTER ULLMANN

The greater size of the London Topographical Society's publication No. 93 (1960. 21s.) has allowed Miss Marjorie B. Honeybourne to put into her SKETCH MAP OF LONDON UNDER RICHARD II much that she was forced to omit from the map she provided for Miss Ruth Bird's *The Turbulent London of Richard II*. The result is a fascinating document for anyone interested in London, ancient or modern. Churches and the town houses of great men, ecclesiastical or lay, appear to dominate the city and the continuity of sites is made plain. Pepys' Navy Office, once the house of Sir Francis Walsingham, is here as Sir Robert Knolles Inn, the modern Mint as St. Mary Graces. There are no sketches of ships to show the vital importance of the river, but, with this map, a pedestrian in modern London could enjoyably re-find for himself Richard II's London and learn much about its make-up and topography.

The biography of TALLEYRAND: THE CARDINAL OF PÉRIGORD (1301-1364), by Norman P. Zacour (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 1960. 83 pp. \$2) is a useful piece of work, which illustrates many incidents and problems of the fourteenth century if it does not greatly deepen our

² Cf., e.g., p. 50: 'Gerson cites authorities from the Christian platonist tradition—St. Augustine, William of Paris (is this William of Auvergne or of Auxerre?), St. Bernard, St. Bonaventure'; p. 79: 'Dionysius, Boethius and St. Augustine are cited as having said that . . .'; p. 103: 'The argument is profoundly Aristotelian, but Gerson also adds a quotation of St. Augustine "claves ecclesiae datae sunt unitati"'; etc.

³ Cf. the statement (p. 66) of 'The Chronicler of St. Denis (xxvi: 26)'—neither the Bibliography nor the Index help. There is the *Chronique du religieux de S.-Denys*, ed. M. L. Bellaguet, which has 6 vols.; book 26, ch. 26, contains nothing relevant to Mr. Morrall's statement.

⁴ It is perhaps symptomatic that the author gives only half of the title of the tract which he himself considers as Gerson's most mature work and which deals extensively with the law.

⁵ On p. 79 the Latin quotation is unintelligible: 'spirituales viri (not: vivi) quales, si apostolo (not: apostolus) creditur, dijudicant de omnibus.' Of course, there is no reference to 1 Cor. ii. 15. He refers here to Paris and Oxford, but clearly knows nothing about the reaction of Cambridge.

understanding of them. To an English historian the chief interest of the book may well lie in the chapters dealing with the Cardinal's part in the negotiations leading to the Treaty of Brétigny. Here, although the author's general interpretation of these negotiations does not modify Delachenal's conclusions in any matter of importance, the papal part in them is set out very fully and it is good to have this.

DAILY LIFE IN FLORENCE IN THE TIME OF THE MEDICI, by J. Lucas-Dubreton, translated from the French by A. Lytton Sells (London: Allen and Unwin. 1960. 324 pp. 30s.) is in part a sketchy and inaccurate history of Florence and the Medici, and in part a selection of anecdotes illustrating Florentine life and customs. It should be used, if at all, with caution.

EARLY MODERN

MACHIAVELLI AND RENAISSANCE ITALY. By J. R. Hale. London: English Universities Press. 1961. xii + 244 pp. 10s. 6d.

This is a tremendously useful little book. One hopes that it will quickly reach the shelves of school and other libraries and be much read. If it is, it should do a lot to dissipate the still prevalent stereotype of Machiavelli as the man who wrote a shocking book about politics which advocated wicked courses of action. Mr. Hale finds room in his 75,000 words for an account of Machiavelli's life together with necessarily brief comments on his personality and his major writings. Rightly, he emphasizes particularly Machiavelli's literary genius, his style, his 'flair for the dramatic' and his wonderful letters, but there are convincing judgements and good *obiter dicta* on many other aspects of the man. Such weaknesses as the book has are perhaps those imposed by the plan of the 'Teach Yourself History' series. Machiavelli serves here as an exemplar of the 'Renaissance' outlook, but that abstraction or its other manifestations may not be brought in to help when the recorded facts concerning Machiavelli's own activities fail to illuminate his background. As a result the reader learns too little about the pervasive influence on Machiavelli's intellectual outlook of the Latin authors on whom he was reared and, more seriously, too little about the extent to which he dealt in commonly held concepts and ideas. Thus it is not easy to assess the man's originality nor the extent to which his contemporaries agreed with him: those who read German, incidentally, can learn much about these matters from Dr. Von Albertini's admirable book on *Das Florentinische Staatsbewusstsein*. Two smaller tentative criticisms may be ventured. Is there evidence for the suggestion that Machiavelli thought of the *Prince* as a means of securing employment only *after* writing it? And might not the 'older generation' which thinks that the *Discourses* were begun in 1513 have been granted the one line in which the grounds for this belief could have been stated? These are minor points: the essential thing is that Mr. Hale's lively and perceptive little book should persuade the most obdurate of readers that the *Prince* is no more the whole of Machiavelli than the *Contrat Social* is the whole of Rousseau.

London School of Economics

D. P. WALEY

THE INDIAN SUMMER OF ENGLISH CHIVALRY. By Arthur B. Ferguson. Duke

University Press: Cambridge University Press. 1960. xviii + 242 pp. 48s. Chivalry as a code of behaviour is an amalgam of three elements: first, the special military *ethos* of the feudal knight: second, the mollifying and ennobling effect of Christianity: and third, the erotic and romantic influence of the cult of courtly love. At different times and places these were differently combined and differently affected by other influences. Since, moreover, Chivalry was in the middle ages a word of power, like Democracy today, the name might be applied in extended senses for purposes of propaganda.

The present work reviews in detail the spate of versions of Romances and other chivalric writings which appeared in England in the fifteenth and the early sixteenth century, and the discussion of the attitudes displayed in the less known of these is no less useful than the close analysis of the opinions of such better known writers as William Worcester, Malory, Caxton and Lord Berners. The adaptation of chivalric themes and precedents to the English thought of the age on government, education, war and manners is discussed in detail. Dr. Ferguson allows that alongside these writings there were writers on cognate topics who were little if at all affected by chivalric notions. He suggests, however, that these notions were here kept out partly by these writers' preoccupation with purely practical questions (e.g. Sir John Fortescue's works and the Paston letters) and partly by the rising tide of humanism. He leaves us, however, with the impression that in the minds of the ruling class generally a dying chivalric ethos was fanned in these years into a last blaze which then rather suddenly expired.

Not all readers will be persuaded that this is the right perspective. Concentration on a limited period often gives a misleading look of abruptness to what are really sections of long, slow, gradual developments, while concentration upon literary evidence may give a false impression of the currency of ideas—especially in a time and place when literary influences were not always paramount. It can be shown that the views on heraldry of Nicholas Upton, whom Dr. Ferguson quotes, and of other writers of the period were remote from the actual practice of their own or any other day. Are we justified in supposing that their views on chivalric conduct were any more representative? We know from the list of his books that Thomas Benolt, Clarenceux King of Arms, was a notable student of chivalric lore, yet his lengthy indictment of a brother king of arms for unprofessional conduct in 1530 reveals an *ethos* Pastonian rather than chivalric. This and other evidence might be used to support the view that the output of chivalric literature at this time was more a literary than a social phenomenon.

College of Arms

A. R. WAGNER

THE CHARITIES OF LONDON 1480-1660: THE ASPIRATIONS AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE URBAN SOCIETY. By W. K. Jordan. London: Allen and Unwin. 1960. 463 pp. 45s.

THE FORMING OF THE CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS OF THE WEST OF ENGLAND. A STUDY OF THE CHANGING PATTERN OF SOCIAL ASPIRATIONS IN BRISTOL AND SOMERSET, 1480-1660. By W. K. Jordan. Philadelphia: Transactions of the American Philosophical Association. 1960. 99 pp. \$2.

In these two volumes which continue the author's massive study of English

philanthropy, Professor Jordan makes use of the same ingenious and illuminating tools of analysis which he employed in his earlier and more general book. Since his basic distinctions between different categories of benefaction are capable of throwing really significant light upon a problem which has too often been treated with infuriating inexactitude, it is particularly unfortunate that, despite his wholly admirable concern to express the level of benefactions in statistically ponderable terms, both of these latest volumes are open to precisely the same methodological objections as were advanced by reviewers of *Philanthropy in England* in this and other journals. It is not too much to say that Professor Jordan's continued determination not to adjust his statistics of benefactions in accordance with changes in the value of money invalidates the central argument of all three of his books. To take but one example, from the London volume, the first of his 'intervals', the period 1480-1540, comprising one-third of his whole period, produced only 13.24 per cent of its benefactions, while the second 'interval', 1541-60, comprising only 10.5 per cent of the period, was responsible for 8.09 per cent of its benefactions, an apparently impressive per decade increase. To the former 'interval', Professor Jordan, with his emphasis upon the Protestant ethos as one of the central springs of philanthropic growth, accords the somewhat procrustean title of 'Pre-Reformation'. 'Pre-Price Revolution' might have been both a more chronologically accurate and historically illuminating appellation, for in any attempt to estimate the *real* value of benefactions in these two decades the great inflation engendered by royal currency manipulation is surely the crucial factor. It was inflation which increased enormously not only the need for these benefactions, but also the ability of those merchants who are the heroes of Professor Jordan's story to make them, whilst at the same time diminishing the real value of each pound which they donated.

To these statistical defects, which are common to all three of Professor Jordan's volumes, his account of London charities adds defects of its own. Passing over the tiresome practice of placing footnotes at the end of the volume, which is particularly irritating in a work of this nature, we may turn to the author's treatment of the benefactors themselves. Here a major objection is the oversimplified impression of homogeneity of interest which is conveyed about each of the author's mercantile groupings. Except in a few obvious cases, the only method which he employs to describe the economic differences between the most important of his benefactors within each group is the wholly misleading one of referring to them by the nominal trade of the Livery Company to which they belonged. Descriptions such as those of Sir Stephen Soame, 'a London grocer and former Lord Mayor', Sir William Garway, 'a rich draper', and Nicholas Crispe, 'a London Skinner', tell us nothing significant about the economic interests and aspirations of these donors. In face of his apparent lack of appreciation of the diversity of economic interest which was a central feature of city life, it may be doubted whether one can accept with much confidence Professor Jordan's assertion of the virtual identity of their basic social aspirations, still less of the motives which inspired them.

Yet, despite all these things, *The Charities of London* is a valuable and important contribution to social history. If the author has not succeeded in depicting 'the rich and variegated life and aspirations of the city', he has at least provided a wonderful storehouse of materials upon which economic,

social and business historians will draw with gratitude for many years to come. Moreover, although the central methodological deficiency of Professor Jordan's analysis makes it impossible for this reviewer to accept his conclusions about the general growth of benefactions and its significance, and invites scepticism about his frequent use of phrases such as 'incredible generosity', and 'unlimited giving', as well as his statement that 'the whole of the merchant class was committed' to philanthropic endeavour, his figures remain especially eloquent of the shifts which occurred between different forms of benefaction. Here the most spectacular development was unquestionably the secularization of philanthropy in the mid- and late-Tudor periods. The later revival of religious benefactions under the early Stuart kings was largely the product of the now very obvious damage which had been caused by Elizabethan neglect, the attempts of the Puritan elements in the city to mould the church to their liking via such media as the seoffees for impropriations and the endowment of lectureships, and the persistent Laudian pressures to wring concessions out of the citizens for church repairs and other causes. That this revival was only partial, however, is demonstrated not only by the decline in the purchasing power of money over the intervening period between the 'Pre-Reformation' and early Stuart 'intervals', which rendered the £194,765 donated for religious causes in the latter 'interval' worth far less in real terms than the £111,997 donated in the former, but also by the fact that, while the religious benefactions of pre-Reformation donors accounted for 44.78 per cent of their total benefactions, those of the early-Stuart donors represent no more than 20.31 per cent of the total for that 'interval'. At the same time, the total benefactions in the latter 'interval' (50.76 per cent of the sums donated throughout the whole period, 1480-1660) remain impressive even when account is taken of price changes, and contrast most favourably with the 13.78 per cent which was donated in the same number of years from 1561-1600. The celebrated Elizabethan parsimony was evidently not confined to the Queen.

The appearance of Professor Jordan's third volume invites interesting comparisons and contrasts both between the benefactions of two great cities, London and Bristol, and between rural and urban benefactions. In the trend towards secularization Bristol actually led rather than followed London, while Somerset, as one would expect, lagged well behind both cities. In both Bristol and Somerset a significantly higher proportion of benefactions went on poor relief proper than in London, but the allied category of 'social rehabilitation' found less favour with Bristolians, while the inhabitants of Somerset displayed a negligible interest in these often far-sighted, sometimes highly sophisticated, and occasionally risky schemes.

To the historian of Tudor and early Stuart England, who is all too familiar with the complaints of provincial towns that London was sucking away their economic life-blood, the most significant contrast of all is that between the parochialism of the benefactions of Bristol and the nationwide scope of those of London. Drawing the personnel of its citizens from all over the country, London spread its benefactions no less widely, a fact which obviously owes much—but by no means all—to the natural desire of the successful migrant to leave a permanent mark on the region of his origins. In common with so many other areas—and more than most of them—both Bristol and Somerset were to gain enormously from this tendency. London

donors comprised only 3·58 per cent of the benefactors of Bristol and yet were responsible for 19·73 per cent (£18,160) of that city's charities in this period. Similarly, as much as 26·05 per cent (£30,360) of the charitable funds of Somerset came from Londoners. Contrast this with Bristol, which provided a paltry £159 to the charities of Somerset. Drawing most of its personnel from its own economic hinterland, it yet received in benefactions from the neighbouring counties of Somerset and Gloucestershire ten times as much as it gave to them.

It is Professor Jordan's view that the charitable activities of his donors, and especially those of London and Bristol, were designed 'to lay the foundations . . . of a new kind of society, a society animated by values which were all but unknown to medieval men'. Both the tendency to secularized benefaction and the growing emphasis upon ordered rather than indiscriminate giving, which are among his most valuable contributions to our knowledge of this subject, lend some support to his thesis. Nevertheless, it is arguable that his preoccupation with the origins of the institutions of modern liberal society has led him to overlook the possibility that many of his philanthropists may have been animated, at least in part, by motives which represent concessions to a traditional morality rather than the beginnings of radically new social attitudes. Although Capitalism loomed larger upon the economic and social scene of Tudor and early Stuart England than it had done at any previous time, England was not yet a capitalist society. The desire to win acceptance into a traditional élite and the need to demonstrate that the capitalist was not the calculating amoral figure of popular belief were considerations which still had power over the imaginations of men. Bearing them in mind, it is perhaps legitimate to wonder whether the decline in benefactions per decade in the years 1641-60, was entirely due to war, high taxation and commercial disruption, important though these factors undoubtedly are, or whether it marks, to some extent at least, the growth of a new and more parsimonious attitude. It is a measure of the significance of Professor Jordan's contribution that these questions could hardly have been asked before the appearance of his books. Nor, however, can they be answered until we have a study of the same problems during the century which succeeded the Restoration. Until then much of his thesis about the significance of Tudor and early Stuart philanthropy must be regarded as not proven.

University of Nottingham

ROBERT ASHTON

THE ECONOMY OF SCOTLAND IN ITS EUROPEAN SETTING 1550-1625. By

S. G. E. Lythe. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1960. viii + 277 pp. 21s. If England had an industrial revolution in the hundred years before 1640, what happened in Scotland? There was important industrial growth in coal and salt. Both deep coal mines and coal-burning salt pans made their appearance in this period, and gave rise to a corresponding expansion of coal and salt exports. It is clear that coal was a factor of great importance in a country where wood fuel was rare or inaccessible. Fortunately it was available at the precise point where it was most useful, on the east coast. In this respect the parallel with north-east England was very close. In other respects Scotland's economic growth was less marked than English; or it has left less evidence. Mr. Lythe's survey of the Scottish economy in the reign of James VI ranges for evidence between the Ballad of Sir Patrick Spens and the

Danish Sound Toll Registers. It is a descriptive work, and the reader may think that trivialities sometimes receive too much attention. But this defect, if it is a defect, is outweighed by the clear unambiguous casting of the book in the form of an enquiry into economic growth. Mr. Lythe establishes this theme in the opening pages and all the evidence subsequently adduced bears on that question. As a factor in such growth as there was, Mr. Lythe lays emphasis on strong government and political stability. He has good words for James VI. A second factor was the state of harvests. Between 1570 and 1600 there were some very bad harvests, and starvation and plague did not encourage economic enterprise. After 1600 the food situation improved and in good years corn was exported. Here again parallels can be drawn with England. Unfortunately the presumed causal connection between political stability and good harvests on the one hand, and economic growth on the other hand, cannot be demonstrated—or at least it is not demonstrated here—by reference to the dates of significant steps in the growth of the coal and salt industries. As to agriculture, where the bulk of the nation's wealth was involved, Mr. Lythe's treatment is necessarily scanty. But where there is more evidence, as for example in foreign trade, the picture is complete and definitive. The importance of the Dutch trade is well brought out and there is a valuable chapter on economic relations with England. The latter throws a good deal of light on the question of the Union which James VI so ardently desired. The book may be recommended for English as well as Scottish schools, presenting as it does a broad picture of a nation's economic structure and development in up-to-date terms. Its greatest contribution to scholarship is the analysis of foreign trade.

Peterhouse, Cambridge

R. W. K. HINTON

THE SPANISH ARMADA. By M. Lewis. London: Batsford. 1960. 216 pp. 21s. This is in many ways the most satisfactory of the books on the Armada which have appeared in recent years. If it lacks the wide background of Professor Mattingley's study, it deals with its chosen subject in a splendidly lucid and workmanlike manner; above all, it carries throughout the unmistakable stamp of a complete mastery and understanding of the material. This is professional naval history at its very best; one of those rare books which will satisfy the specialist, the schoolboy and the general reader alike. As might be expected, the writer deals particularly clearly with the composition, manning and equipment of the two fleets; he suggests that the decisive shortage in the Armada's make-up was possibly in professional sea-officers. Relying less on Medina Sidonia's report of his actions than other writers have done, he is harsher than some of them in his criticism of the Duke's decisions, though acknowledging his virtues. The one thing missing from the book is a thorough examination of the efforts Parma made, or did not make, to effect the junction with Medina Sidonia—surely a key problem in the Armada story? Professor Lewis is careful to point out that, from his total defeat at sea, Philip II learned how to go about the building of sea power. While Elizabeth in her later years wasted England's maritime strength on futile expeditions which had no effect on the course of the war, Philip's new fleets, if still incapable of invading far-off England, showed a growing ability to protect his own shores and treasures.

University of Hull

RALPH DAVIS

CONSTITUTIONALISM AND STATECRAFT DURING THE GOLDEN AGE OF SPAIN: A STUDY OF THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF JUAN DE MARIANA, S.J. By Guenter Lewy. Geneva: Droz. 1960. 204 pp. 20 Sw. fr.

Dr. Lewy's monograph is the first full study in English of Mariana's political thought, and as such it is to be welcomed, for its subject is of some importance. But there must be certain reservations. The attempt, announced in the Preface, to deal with 'the substantive issues raised by Mariana' leads to some rather unsatisfying results. Readers who are likely to take up a specialized work of this kind will hardly be grateful for a rehearsal, for instance, of the argument that 'there can be no legal right against the authority which makes law and on which all rights depend'. At the same time, Dr. Lewy's undertaking 'to trace the historical development of certain important doctrines' must, in so restricted a context, mean some serious foreshortening of perspectives. Thus, to speak broadly of the views of an undifferentiated group called 'the scholastics' is to ignore important distinctions. It also masks the striking affinities between Mariana's conception of monarchy and the ideas of some (not all) scholastic writers.

The detailed exposition is more satisfactory, affording a convenient summary and critique of the *De Rege*. But some points are questionable. Dr. Lewy's own exposition hardly supports his assertion that Mariana 'surrounds the king with so many limitations that the monarchy becomes virtually a hollow shell'. George Buchanan goes much further in this direction and is in all respects more inclined towards 'radicalism' (a term Dr. Lewy surely employs too loosely). On the other hand, it is not the case that Buchanan is 'the only Protestant writer to defend the right and duty of tyrannicide against all oppressive tyrants and not merely against the usurper'. This overlooks the views of those writers who attacked Mary Tudor, and in particular Bishop Ponet, whose arguments in his *Shorte Treatise of Politike Power* (1556) hardly fall short of Buchanan in this respect. Dr. Lewy has written a useful guide to Mariana's ideas, but his subject could be more accurately placed in the landscape of sixteenth-century political thought.

University College, London

J. H. BURNS

Poetry, from the stateliest of epics to the most ephemeral of songs, has always been used as an instrument of political propaganda. We think of its use in patriotic songs and electioneering ballads or, perhaps more frequently, as expressing popular response to the misdeeds of governments; in times past, so long as readers appreciated panegyric, it could also enhance the splendour of rulers and states. In *POETRY AND POLITICS UNDER THE STUARTS* (Cambridge University Press. 1960. viii + 220 pp. 25s.) Miss C. V. Wedgwood deals with a period in which its application to politics is important on account of the eminence of the poets and the functions which it served. Constructing her book round a brilliant series of quotations, she illustrates the various poetical manifestations of the period. She is at her best for the reign of Charles I; she describes admirably the poets' share in helping the king and queen to construct their fated pleasure, and shows how they turned to composing ballads to further the royal cause in the Civil War. The book declines after the Restoration. Miss Wedgwood underestimates Waller and has little of value to say about Butler (of whom there is no satisfactory study). She treats inadequately Dryden's part in the royalist reaction from 1681

onwards; what she says is noteworthy, but she does not mention *Albion and Albanus* (a political opera in which Charles II was greatly interested) and much else.

Miss Wedgwood acknowledges her deficiencies in literary history. She apparently considers 'political poetry' a special kind of poetry, whereas from the literary point of view what happens is that poetry of various kinds—narrative, elegy, satire—enters the political field; it is probably only in the case of satire that it acquires fresh literary characteristics. When she compares the treatment of royalty by the poets in Charles I's reign with that in Charles II's, Miss Wedgwood seeks to explain the change by the decline of the theory of the Divine Right of Kings and by the differences in the characters of the two kings. These may have contributed to it, but the change is also an exemplification of a profound change in western European literature and thought in this century, the dwindling of imaginative and the increase of rational elements in them (this process perhaps hastened the decline of the theory of Divine Right). Miss Wedgwood holds that we accept painted panegyric far more readily than its poetical equivalent. This is doubtful. While we merely look at Rubens's Whitehall ceiling we applaud; when we try to read it, we wonder what links James I with Hercules; equally, when no personal associations interfere, we can accept Dryden's embellishments, such as the Nereids who delay Mary of Modena's ship in order to admire her; of course in neither case do we experience the moral compulsion exercised by royalty and the idea of kingship over seventeenth-century subjects. But however much there is to question, one cannot fail to admire: the association almost everywhere of apposite and beautiful quotations with penetrating and important remarks makes the book engaging and instructive reading.

E. S. DE BEER

THREE ASPECTS OF STUART ENGLAND. By Sir George Clark. Oxford University Press. 1960. 77 pp. 8s. 6d.

Sir George Clark's three Whidden Lectures, delivered at McMaster University in January 1960, are on the themes of Insularity, Social Structure and Freedom. The most valuable is the second, which surveys the field of seventeenth-century social history and outlines a whole programme of future research. It contains a number of interesting *dicta*. For example, 'The clergy married, and grade for grade they married as suited their places in the social hierarchy. The church was ceasing to be a separate interest and becoming a graduated annex of the gentry and the aristocracy.' The first lecture contains reflections on England's geographical position, and its effect on men's ways of thinking. The third deals with the large subject of freedom in the seventeenth century. In his second lecture Sir George had observed, in words which should be memorized by all seventeenth-century historians, 'The classes with social functions amounted to something like one-quarter of the whole.' The relevance of this remark to seventeenth-century uses of the word 'freedom' is apparent when Sir George quotes Charles I's saying that the choice of his councillors and ministers of state was 'the natural liberty all freemen have'. It would seem that the King thought of substantial landed proprietors only as freemen. An enquiry into the exact nature of those who were regarded (and regarded themselves) as freemen in the seventeenth century might be added to Sir George's list of

problems confronting the social historian. It would help to clarify apparent contradictions in seventeenth-century generalizations about freedom if 'the free' should turn out to coincide with the 25 per cent of the population who had social functions. 'Locke's England and his writings', Sir George warns us, 'may easily seem closer to fully-developed liberalism than they really were'.

Balliol College, Oxford

J. E. C. HILL

Seventeenth-century monarchs could not 'live of their own'. They borrowed; and it was something if they could keep on borrowing without repudiating their debts or becoming the pensionaries of other monarchs. How and by whom the money was advanced is obviously a question of the greatest historical importance and complexity. *THE CROWN AND THE MONEY MARKET, 1603-1640*, by Robert Ashton (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1960. xvi + 223 pp. 25s.) makes the results of a scholarly study of the subject concise, readable, and comprehensible by minds normally hazy even about the basic principles of bills of exchange. The crown was not like ordinary borrowers: its needs were greater, and its powers of persuasion and threat were balanced by reluctance to lend to a body against which no legal redress was possible. Forced loans, the only way to borrow from the country as a whole, became in effect dangerously unpopular taxes. Borrowing abroad was increasingly difficult. Only London and its merchant community could provide the regular means to anticipate revenue and make up deficiencies. There the great men of finance responded—but on better security than the word of a king. Often a specific source of revenue had to be put directly into their hands as repayment. The farm of the customs was only one of the devices that turned the lender into a part-time financial administrator. The institutions of London, the City Chamber and the Livery Companies, became, as intermediaries between the crown and investors, part of the machinery of central government—a practice for which in 1642 Parliament had cause to be thankful. Through its own credit and its contacts with merchants great and small, the Corporation of London made possible the wide distribution of borrowing, and, under Charles, the profitable sale of crown lands as a principal means of repayment. Neither the crown nor the Corporation seems to have behaved well in the matter of land sales. At all events bitterness between them helped to bring London on to the Parliamentary side, while individual involvement in the crown's fortunes ensured the powerful Royalist minority of 1640. The circle of lenders had narrowed under the personal rule, and demands had slackened. But Dr. Ashton's account leaves little room for the view that the crown's money troubles had ended, or that the Bishops' Wars were anything less than a financial disaster.

Was there a fundamental antagonism between the Stuart monarchy and the budding financial capitalism of the City? Dr. Ashton warns against the 'deceptively simple thesis' in stock accounts of this. His evidence gives more support to the 'ins versus outs' view. In the business world 'those who were well connected with the court went to the head of the queue'. The lesser men to whom the Corporation and the great merchants passed on the demands for loans had good reason for anger. One sometimes wonders why they went on lending at all. The 8 per cent interest rate was more or less universal; and it might be useful to know more about the alternative investments open to

them, and the comparative risks. But that would be outside the scope of this well-constructed and perceptive book.

University of Manchester

D. H. PENNINGTON

THE KING'S SERVANTS: THE CIVIL SERVICE OF CHARLES I 1625-42. By

G. A. Aylmer. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1961. xii + 521 pp.
56s.

Mr. Aylmer's book deals with the period of the Eleven Years' Tyranny, associated in the minds of general historians with the clash between reform and vested interests, between 'Thorough' and 'Lady Mora'. Mr. Aylmer is clearly for 'Thorough'. There can be few sources of evidence in England and Wales which he has not tapped, and he has eschewed Cartesian deductions in favour of a Baconian piling up of fact upon fact. His book may be seen to fall into two main divisions. The first of these is administrative history *tout court*, so to speak; a picture of the internal working of the Stuart administration, its methods of recruitment, its rewards, its patronage, its squabbles. Mr. Aylmer makes clear such technical matters as reversion, and his lists of incomes of certain officers and the capital value of selected offices are of great interest. The second half of the book is marked by a change of key, indicated to the casual eye by the appearance of statistical tables, over forty of which mark the next 200 pages. In this section of the book, Mr. Aylmer's object has been to analyse two groups, each 200 in number, from the total number of 1400 members of the central administration. Broadly speaking, he here has in mind two questions, the economic importance of office-holding as a source of income, and the pattern of division which the Civil War caused among the king's servants. We have moved now from the world of *Tout* to that of Tawney, from the unquestioned truths of Newtonian physics to the shifting statistical universe of the Gentry.

In some ways the core of the book lies in the section entitled 'Office and Social Structure' where the relative importance of office holding as a source of income is examined against the background of an estimated national income. Mr. Aylmer comes down against the view that office was an all-important factor in preventing social decline or in explaining social rise. His conclusion rests upon an impressive piece of financial analysis, from which it emerges that the income from office amounted to only 2-3 per cent of the national income, and most of this went into the pockets of a comparatively small number. Some peers and some gentry benefited from office-holding, but land, law and business seem to have been far more important for the great majority, even where they held office. Mr. Aylmer's point here is a valuable one, but one may wonder whether by sticking closely to the ascertainable income which went with an office, he does not disregard the extent to which non-monetary pickings, for example, opportunities of acquiring land rather than mere perquisites, were part of the salary. An obvious factor here was the Court of Wards, but until a study of its activities in the seventeenth century is available, on the lines already made clear for the sixteenth by Professor Hurstfield, the extent of unofficial pickings from official posts is bound to be a matter for conjecture. There is enough evidence to suggest however that Mr. Aylmer's picture may be too clear cut; certainly it would seem an official in the Court of Wards was put 'in the way of' wardships and heiresses.

This section of Mr. Aylmer's work is so illuminating that one regrets there was not more of it. However, he has rigorously kept to his chosen subject of the administration and has excluded from his study the impact upon society at large. His ostensible theme is the growth of government and the rise of bureaucracy but he has attempted to treat this without reference to the non-official world outside. Occasional references to England being 'probably as well governed as any country in Europe' and to the Crown being 'genuinely solicitous for the welfare of the people' show that the author was aware of the problem. But his judgements in this regard do not rest upon evidence offered in his book. They are interesting as the remarks of someone who has worked through a mass of documentary material, but they still leave us suspended between those historians who regard the period as corrupt and those who speak of it as a period of reform.

The general conclusions put forward in the book are somewhat meagre and seem disproportionate to the immense amount of patient scholarship which it represents. Mr. Aylmer has analysed 400 members of an administration numbering 1400. From this it seems that their age, date of appointment, location of property and whether they were first or younger sons 'all appear to be relevant considerations'. Evidence of religious opinions was hard to come by and Mr. Aylmer has nothing to tell us on this score. The concluding chapter is something of a mixed bag, a useful short sketch of English administrative history, an original comparison of continental and English administrations in the early seventeenth century and a grand piece of sociological mysticism, bringing in Veblen, Wéber, and Parkinson. The value of the book as a whole lies in the detail. It is a work which will take its place by the side of those of Mrs. Keeler and Dietz. In a period of English history which recently has been noteworthy more for stimulating comment than solid scholarship, *The King's Servants* makes its own contribution.

University College, Dublin

H. F. KEARNEY

Professor David Underdown, in ROYALIST CONSPIRACY IN ENGLAND 1649-1660 (Yale University Press: O.U.P. 1960. xvii + 374 pp. 48s.), has accomplished with distinction a task which needed doing. His title is accurate. This is not a full-scale history of the royalists in defeat, but confines itself to those who plotted in England against the Commonwealth and Protectorate, referring to the exiles and their factions only so far as they were involved with the conspirators at home. It is therefore a long book on a restricted subject, and indeed the host of minor figures and futile projects that crowd its pages do not always make for easy reading. But to have made it shorter would have lessened its value as a work of reference, though to regard it only as such would be to do an injustice to the skill with which Professor Underdown has unravelled his tangled skein. His accurate and virtually exhaustive research has corrected many errors, filled in a mass of detail and presented a balanced picture of the extent and character of royalist plotting.

Though obviously sympathetic to the men who risked their lives in the King's cause, he does not overrate their effectiveness. He confirms that they were deficient in organization, incompetent in strategy and tactics, rent by factions and jealousies. Few old royalists defected to the King's enemies in the 'fifties, but at no time did more than a tenth of them conspire actively for his restoration. Of those who did, a striking number were younger sons, who

were not jeopardizing the family estates by their activities. The great royalist peers, like the bishops and all but a very few of the Anglican clergy, held warily aloof from conspiracy. Within the small active minority, men of courage and devotion suffered through the company of babblers, irresponsible adventurers, and a few highly placed, well concealed traitors. No wonder they failed to win much Presbyterian support. Until 1659 most Presbyterians, though monarchist at heart, felt that the plotters of risings were courting a renewal of civil war in a gamble on their own advancement should their wild fling come off. The only cavalier group which coupled broad acres with high military reputation was the Sealed Knot, whose six members made use of the authority they were given over all enterprises in England to discourage fatally every rising that was planned or attempted. No satisfactory alternative command was established until the eve of the Restoration, when an armed rising had become redundant. Professor Underdown convincingly suggests the absolutist reaction and the white terror which would have ensued had any of the royalists' ill-starred projects succeeded. He writes lucidly and vigorously, and rounds off a valuable book with some fresh light on royalist ciphers and an admirable bibliographical chapter.

University of Leeds

A. H. WOOLRYCH

POLITICS AND RELIGION IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE. By W. J. Stankiewicz. California University Press: C.U.P. 1960. x + 269 pp. 48s.

This is a work with a promising title but a disappointing text. A sub-title limits the terms of reference to a study of political ideas as reflected in the toleration controversy but even this theme is not explored adequately. The book is composed of narrative sections and summaries of political texts, rarely enlivened by any interpretation beyond the underlining of the obvious: a book of this size should devote more attention, for example, to the authorship of *Les soupirs de la France esclave* and less to the ideas with which the readers of the works of J. W. Allen and Henri Séé will already be familiar.

Perhaps the most disquieting feature of the book is its poor history. We are told that Richelieu does not deserve 'his reputation as an enlightened and generous ruler', but these are curious terms in which to describe the received opinion. A sentence on p. 47 suggests that the Guises sponsored the Huguenots; there is a mysterious reference to the 'Swiss princes'; the advent of Humanism 'partly released' the lower classes from their bonds; the Jesuits appear as a 'social group'; the Third Estate is always poverty stricken. There is no reference, even in the bibliography, to the work of Romier, and it is nearly a century since the *Bibliothèque Impériale* (p. 113, footnote 53) was so named. Uncertainty of detail is unhappily associated with the statement of large claims for 'history'. (See, for example, the passage on p. 13 which begins: 'The task of the historian lies in finding a yardstick by which relatively similar events of different epochs can be measured. His aim is to show the relationship between past and present. . . .') Platitudes of this kind teem in these pages and one of them ('Perfect unity existed more in the minds of the thinkers of later generations than in medieval reality') is supported by a footnote giving as authority *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*. Religious questions raise many difficulties. Why can the Jansenists be described as 'reduced to a narrow "libertine" basis', as indifferent to baptism, or as a society? St. Cyran was not an abbot in the English sense, the

Compagnie du Saint Sacrement cannot possibly be translated as the Company of St. Sacrament and St. Augustine should not be credited with the famous words of St. Luke.

The work is further marred by a style of which it is sometimes difficult to make sense (e.g. 'Certain incidents of quasi-collusion of Church and state against Protestants were not synonomous with the King's obedience to the clergy in all matters after 1666,' p. 189). The bibliography is generally adequate although its sub-titles are misleading: the section on 'The Political Thought of Louis XIV' could be more happily named, especially as it includes the works of Jurieu and Bayle. It would unfortunately be possible to multiply criticisms of this kind, but the most serious fault of the book is its evident failure to achieve more than a superficial account of important developments in religion, history and political thought.

St. Catharine's, Cumberland Lodge

H. G. JUDGE

After a gap of some thirteen years another volume in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, has been published: JAMES II, VOLUME I, FEBRUARY-DECEMBER 1685 (H.M.S.O. 1960. viii + 578 pp. £6 10s.). The contents of this volume, as well as its price, will strengthen existing doubts as to the wisdom or the utility of publishing such calendars. In an age of comparatively cheap microfilm and generous travel grants no document in the Public Record Office is inaccessible to scholars from abroad, let alone those at home. Such books have no teaching value, and very little to interest the general reader, and the tiny circle of scholars who read and consult them are in most cases already familiar with the original documents or know where to look for them. In fact, the state papers for 1685 have been well worked over, and they have no surprises left to offer; even the correspondence dealing with Monmouth's Rebellion is largely routine. Like the papers for the previous reign, they shed very little light on national events, though the local historian and the genealogist, perhaps the economic historian, will find a few scraps of useful information here and there. Irish historians, too, will welcome the detailed reports of the Lords Justices. The volume is beautifully printed (though the casing is poor for the price and not likely to stand up to library usage), and the editors have now adopted the sensible practice of numbering each document. A cursory examination failed to reveal any errors, except the persistent use of an ungrammatical plural for 'lord lieutenant'. Altogether, then, this is well up to the high standards set by modern Stationery Office publications, but the money spent on it would have been much better devoted to the preparation of a printed catalogue of the contents of the Public Record Office, with call numbers.

Christ's College, Cambridge

J. P. KENYON

Dr. Gunther Erich Rothenberg has written a study of THE AUSTRIAN MILITARY BORDER IN CROATIA, 1522-1747 (University of Illinois Press. 1960. x + 156 pp.; paper \$3, cloth \$4) in which he traces the history of the organization of the frontier against the Turks and of the people who defended it. These were the *Grenzer*, originally refugees from Bosnia, Serbia and further south (*Uscocs*) who were mostly Greek Orthodox Christians, and who enjoyed special privileges in the Croatian border areas in which they were settled. Mr. Rothenberg's book is based solidly on Austrian, Italian and

Slavonic sources and it is happily free from the nationalistic prejudices which have bedevilled the historiography of this region. It is a most valuable, and unusual, contribution to the military, administrative and social history of the Habsburg Empire.

LATER MODERN

ECONOMIC FLUCTUATIONS IN ENGLAND, 1700-1800. By T. S. Ashton.

Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1959. 199 pp. 21s. **STUDIES IN THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION: ESSAYS PRESENTED TO T. S. ASHTON.** Edited by L. S. Pressnell. London: Athlone Press. 1960. 350 pp. 42s.

No one in Professor Ashton's generation has done more than he to advance our understanding of English economic history in the eighteenth century. He has approached the subject from almost every side, as an historian of the firm (Peter Stubs), as an historian of industries (coal and iron and steel), and as the general chronicler of the economic developments of that century. If he has been fortunate in a long and active career, so have we. For he has had the opportunity to lay before us his views in their complete form.

His latest book, on economic fluctuations between 1700 and 1800, should be regarded as complementary to the economic history of England in the eighteenth century, published five years ago. In that book he traced, on a scale which had not been employed for many years, the main trends of economic development during the classical period of the Industrial Revolution. But economic trends are not steady and constant things. The fluctuations of the economy, which condition so largely the livelihood of the individual, were for the most part omitted from that book and reserved for separate treatment. The present volume is devoted to them exclusively and it represents by far the most comprehensive and systematic study of the subject which has so far been made. Beginning with the influence of the elements and the harvests, moving through the connection between economic fluctuations and war, trade, finance and building, and concluding with a description of financial crises, the book offers what is in effect a new view of eighteenth-century economic history. Here the observer takes his stand to watch not the trends of the long period but the events of the short. The two books together give the economic scene of eighteenth-century England through both lenses of the spectacles.

The metaphor may suggest an important limitation to this method of organizing our knowledge. Why, it may be said, look at the short term and the long separately; would it not be better to handle trend and fluctuation together, since in history they are inseparable? This is now being done for the nineteenth century, and it is, one feels, the natural method for an attack on the extremely difficult problems involved in the relation between economic growth on the one hand and fluctuation on the other. But the sources of information for the nineteenth century are better in all sorts of ways and the study of the trade cycle in that century more advanced. Professor Ashton's is pioneer work for the century with which it deals, and it does not exclude experiments of other kinds.

The other book under notice is a presentation volume edited by Dr.

Pressnell on the occasion of Professor Ashton's seventieth birthday, to commemorate his services both to Manchester and to London. It possesses much more unity than such collections of essays commonly do, perhaps largely owing to the concentration of Professor Ashton's own historical studies in the eighteenth century. His interests in currency and finance are matched by contributions from Dr. Pressnell on the rate of interest in the eighteenth century and from Mr. Joslin on the London bankers in war-time. The history of industry is represented by Professor Söderlund of Stockholm in an extremely interesting study of the impact of the British Industrial Revolution on the Swedish iron industry; by Miss Mann, in a portrait of the social conditions of the Wiltshire clothing trade and by Dr. Chaloner's essay on Isaac Wilkinson, the father of the formidable iron-master, John Wilkinson. Mr. A. J. Taylor takes the sub-contract system in the coal industry and Dr. Barker the first beginnings of the canal system which carried so much of the coal. Professor Chambers weaves together economic and population changes in the history of Nottingham in the way he knows so well, and Dr. John handles the development of agriculture over a period which begins significantly early, in 1660. Mr. Potter on the Atlantic economy, 1815-60; Professor Heaton on a Yorkshire mechanic abroad, namely John Barraclough, one of the men who carried English technical knowledge to France and Italy in the first half of the nineteenth century; and Professor Sayers, on the return to gold in 1925, arguing that monetary policy was not substantially responsible for the British exporters' troubles over the next decade, introduce a flavour of later interests. There is nothing perfunctory about this volume, any more than there is about Professor Ashton himself. Well printed and produced, it is a credit to the Athlone Press and it is likely to be on loan from the libraries for a long time to come.

University of Birmingham

W. H. B. COURT

THE FACTION OF COUSINS, by Lewis M. Wiggin (Yale University Press: O.U.P. 1958. 351 pp. 40s.), is a veritable mine of information about the social and political activities of the Grenville family and their various relatives (especially the Pitts and the Lytteltons) between the years 1733 and 1763. Mr. Wiggin achieves a high degree of factual accuracy, and his interpretation is free from those blatant misconceptions that have disfigured some recent publications on eighteenth-century politics. True, it is at least misleading to cite 'Pelhamite defection' as a major cause of Walpole's fall; and the treatment of the ministerial crisis of 1746 is confused and inaccurate. But such minor blemishes are few and far between, and do not seriously detract from the book's value as a store-house of facts, collected from an impressively wide variety of sources, both printed and manuscript. Subsequent workers on the period will save themselves much time and trouble by first dipping into its pages. But here the credit side of the ledger ends, for while one must admire the author's industry and meticulous attention to detail, one cannot but deplore his complete lack of discrimination in the use of the material he has amassed. He seems unable to bring himself to omit any fact, however trivial, relating to the group of politicians with whom he deals. As if this were not enough, he tries also to survey the entire political history of the period; and finally, he adds to the already hopelessly congested narrative his own personal reflections on almost every aspect of

eighteenth-century life. Inevitably, the result is virtually unreadable—a monumentally dull volume that is 'scissors-and-paste' history at its worst. One is too often reminded of the late Professor E. R. Turner's work on the privy and cabinet councils. This is a great pity, for the Grenvilles, even if dull and unlikeable, were politically of the first importance, and the chronicle of their early efforts could have made absorbing reading. As it is, we have a useful reference work and nothing more. Mr. Wiggin has indeed a thesis to argue. It is that closely-knit family groups (an idea pushed to ludicrous extremes by Professor Walcott) were about as rare in the eighteenth century as political parties. Personally, I agree with this view; but it is scarcely advanced much by this laboured survey of a family which anyone with the most rudimentary knowledge of the eighteenth century knows was renowned for its internal disputes. Mr. Wiggin would have made his points better in a brief article than by trying to cram three books into one. All he does is create the impression of a sensible and intelligent man who has sold his soul to a card-index system.

Lincoln College, Oxford

JOHN B. OWEN

SIR JAMES LOWTHER AND CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND ELECTIONS, 1754-75. By Brian Bonsall. Manchester University Press. 1960. x + 161 pp. 28s.

In the mid-eighteenth century Cumberland and Westmorland were so isolated that they have remained something of an historical backwater and when to this are added the difficulties of access or of easy use of the archives of most of the leading county families, the historian's task becomes formidable. Only one acquainted with these difficulties can fully appreciate Mr. Bonsall's achievement. The broad outlines of the story can be simply told. In 1755, Sir James Lowther succeeded to such a conglomeration of family estates as made him perhaps the richest man in the country. In the following year by a series of expensive 'takeover bids' of burgage tenures in Cockermouth, he ousted Lord Egremont from the control of that borough: after the general election of 1754 he shared the control of Appleby with the Earl of Thanet, an arrangement continued for the next twenty years by a series of uneasy 'compromise' agreements. In the general election of 1761 he intruded into Carlisle which with the control of both counties gave him nine members in all. But, in fact, he had overreached himself: a few of the leading county families raised the alarm and aided later by powerful peers like the Duke of Portland, himself affronted by the grant of Inglewood Forest in 1767 to Lowther (Bute's son-in-law), rallied the 'statesmen', i.e. the numerous independent freeholders, in opposition to the 'tyrant'. In the 1768 elections the Lowther contingent was cut by more than half and although he recovered some ground in the 'seventies, never again did he so completely dominate the northern scene. In the mid-eighties, when he had become the Earl of Lonsdale, two of the Lowther 'ninepins' were provided by Haslemere.

The interest of this story lies not so much in the techniques of electoral management elaborated by Lowther's principal agent, John Robinson, and later applied in the service of George III and the younger Pitt, nor in the fact that another prominent King's Friend, Charles Jenkinson, came into politics under the Lowther wing, so much as affording proof of the sturdy independence of northern 'statesmen' (despite terrific pressure), of the overriding

importance of local issues in elections, and an illustration of the constitutional principles and practice of this tyrannical 'megalomaniac'. 'He expected every dependent of his should consult him before he presumed to give a vote' [in the House]. When, in December 1763, his brother Robert voted with the minority against the peace preliminaries, Sir James promptly applied for the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds and the defaulter was instantly unseated. It was Henry Curwen of Workington who first sounded the alarm and set in motion the opposition to the 'tyrant' which was to put Curwen at the head of the poll for the county in the next election, and, though Mr. Bonsall does not project the story so far, it was Curwen's nephew and successor, John Christian Curwen, who successfully championed the 'Blues' against the 'Yellows' for another generation. Another chapter will eventually be written to illustrate the slick manipulation of Crown patronage by Robinson on his patron's behalf before they eventually quarrelled over this question in 1773. And when will young researchers learn that over-concentration on politics causes them to miss half the story? Even at Whitehaven, the centre and seat of the Lowther influence, there was always a minority of merchants and ships' masters who never bowed the knee to Baal.

University of Durham

EDWARD HUGHES

THE NOBILITY OF TOULOUSE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By Robert Forster. Johns Hopkins University Press: O.U.P. 1960. 212 pp. 40s.

Prompted by the need for more precise knowledge of the economic and social position of the provincial nobility during the *ancien régime*, Robert Forster has investigated the estates and fortunes of the nobility of Toulouse. His findings may cause some surprise, for they do not concur with the usual picture of the provincial nobleman as an indolent, penurious *hobereau*, living off what seigneurial dues and exactions his agents could wring from the peasants. On the contrary, the typical Toulousan nobleman, whether *noblesse d'épée* or *noblesse de robe*, was a prosperous, industrious gentleman-farmer, who devoted the greater part of his time to running his estates. It is with estate-management that Mr. Forster is chiefly concerned, and the results of his research, often unexpected, always interesting, will be especially welcomed by those whose particular bent is agrarian history.

But some of his discoveries deserve a wider public. That French noblemen, usually condemned for their idleness, frivolity and extravagance, should farm their estates personally will be a revelation to many; that they should do so with the shrewd and thrifty business-sense usually associated with bourgeois may even cause dismay. The crucial but difficult question of whether the frugal, hard-headed outlook characteristic of the Toulousan nobleman was the result of an influx of bourgeois among the ranks of the nobility, Mr. Forster notes, but regrettably does not pursue. He does, however, throw much light on the equally absorbing question of the 'feudal reaction'. In Toulouse, as elsewhere in France, seigneurial rights were more ruthlessly enforced and exacted during the latter part of the eighteenth century, and some which had been allowed to lapse were resurrected. But to the Toulousan nobleman they were less important as a source of revenue than as a means of increasing his hold over the rural community and enlarging and consolidating his domain lands. Mr. Forster's description of how the nobleman's unceasing efforts to extend and improve his estate and increase his profits

harassed and oppressed the peasants, notably the *métayers*, may not be new; but it is one of the few detailed accounts in English, and is written with uncommon verve and lucidity.

There are many other reasons for recommending this book—the chapter on marriage settlements, for instance, is full of fascinating information about the mores of the nobility—but it has one major shortcoming. The area with which it deals, the civil diocese of Toulouse, an area of only 720 square miles, was on Mr. Forster's own testimony decidedly unusual: its soil was exceptionally rich, and its bourgeoisie exceptionally weak. Its rich, sober, hard-working nobility, whose economic position was greatly dependent on these two factors, may very well have been exceptional too. Before it can be decided which, if either, was typical of the provincial nobility, the thriving gentleman-farmer or the idle *rentier*, many more regional studies of this kind will have to be produced. Having whetted our appetites with this first stimulating and valuable monograph, one hopes that Mr. Forster will continue his work in this field.

University College, Cardiff

NORA TEMPLE

SURVEYOR OF THE SEA: THE LIFE AND VOYAGES OF CAPTAIN GEORGE VANCOUVER. By Bern Anderson. Toronto University Press: O.U.P. 1961. vii + 274 pp. 54s.

As the story of Vancouver's wonderful survey of 1791-5—unquestionably one of the greatest of all time—this is an altogether competent piece of work, by a highranking American naval officer with a real feeling for the sea and sea-surveying. He also attempts, however, the biography of the surveyor himself: and this is much harder, if indeed it be possible, because nearly all the known facts about Vancouver centre more or less closely round the one great voyage. It was not all surveying and exploring. This plain naval officer found himself entangled with the international Nootka Sound controversy, and, on his own initiative, achieved the annexation of Hawaii to the British Crown. Such work demanded the talents of a trained diplomatist, especially as advice was never obtainable from home: and indeed his annexation was partially repudiated by the British Government. All things considered, Vancouver emerges with credit from these ordeals: and so does Admiral Anderson, who makes those half-forgotten negotiations exceedingly clear.

With so little that is solid to work upon—even the sole portrait is uncertain—the author does not create a real likeness of Vancouver. But he does perform the negative service of demolishing previous likenesses, equally unsubstantiated and less honest than his own. He applies no whitewash, but suggests, and goes far towards proving, that no whitewash is needed. The stock charge against Vancouver is of general brutality and (in particular) of flogging one influential but singularly unpleasant midshipman. The Admiral shows how flimsy all the evidence is; indeed, convinces this reviewer anyway that, if Vancouver did not whip the detestable young Camelford, he certainly should have done! One new and interesting theory is advanced concerning the disease which killed the surveyor before his time. It was not, the author holds, tuberculosis, but an untreated hyperthyroid condition, whose symptoms would certainly explain some of Vancouver's later oddities.

M. A. LEWIS

The latest historian of the reign of George III asks why Great Britain was not successfully invaded in 1779, and in his lucid and scholarly book, *THE OTHER ARMADA* (Manchester University Press. 1960. ix + 247 pp. 30s.) Mr. Temple Patterson gives the answer. The reason is ultimately to be found, of course, in John Paul Jones's letter to de Kersaint at the end of the war—‘My dear Kersaint, you have not been destructive enough’. The French navy, despite all that the Choiseuls and Sartine had done for it since 1763, still laboured under two stultifying disabilities, the strategic and tactical doctrine of the ‘ulterior objective’, whose successful attainment might be imperilled by seizing a chance of decisive action against the British, and the absence of any fleet base in the Channel further down wind than Brest. In 1779 they had an adequate navy as far as ships and seamanship went, but it was divided and confused in purpose and policy, and cursed with a vicious tactical doctrine, whose shortcomings, oddly enough, had only been accentuated by the lessons they had drawn from the experience of their otherwise excellent training squadrons. The close-hauled line and the windward gauge led to those ‘cannonades platoniques’ which in their turn meant that the final bill was presented in 1782 at the Saintes. Only an exceptional officer like Suffren rose above these limitations, for, despite the formal orders to d’Orvilliers in 1779 to fight the British, one suspects that neither he nor his superiors and subordinates had much desire to do so, certainly if it meant a fight to the finish. But this, as the author is careful to point out, is not to claim great things for the Royal Navy, for if it at least had the sound tradition that for a sufficient object ships and men must be expendable, it was only, as Professor Butterfield wrote, ‘the somewhat less inefficient of two untidy, ramshackle, conflicting systems’. As for the Spaniards, it is quite possible that it would have been better for the French if they had taken no direct part at all in the operation.

Though on the purely naval side Mr. Patterson has not much to say that is very new, his account of the preliminary negotiations between Vergennes and Florida Blanca is admirably clear, and he has made good use of the French archives and of de Perugia’s work.¹ But it is in his treatment of the military side of the British defensive organizations that the real originality of his work lies. If our navy was none too good, the state of our army at home, of the War Office, and of our coast defences, and the general incompetence of the higher command has to be studied to be believed. Crumbling bastions, rotten gun-carriages, ammunition that did not fit the cannon, insufficient troops, and fumbling generals would in all probability have made the more limited, at least, of the French invasion schemes an easy success had they only got ashore. It was one more repetition of the lesson that the British so seldom apply; for after Ligonier had raised our army to an extremely high pitch of efficiency by the end of the Seven Years’ War the whole organization was ruined by sixteen years of Treasury cheese-paring and House of Commons jealousy, while Amherst as Commander-in-Chief was not the man to remedy its shortcomings. Mr. Patterson writes attractively, and his scholarship is sound.

Balliol College, Oxford

A. B. RODGER

¹ In a select bibliography he cites no Spanish authorities, nor Commander Owen’s article in the *Naval Review*; and one could have exchanged the portrait of Vergennes for a chart of the Channel.

THE LAST OF THE CRUSADERS: THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN AND MALTA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By Roderick Cavaliero. London: Hollis and Carter. 1960. vi + 298 pp. 30s.

This is an original book. It is original in the sense that it is the first study in English of the Knights of St. John of Malta during the last century of their rule in that island—the eighteenth—and because it is based upon much research in the Archives of the Order in the Royal Malta Library at Valetta and some research elsewhere. It is also original in its presentation, which is generally lively and fresh, if sometimes a little careless. The more successful chapters are the earlier ones which present a picture of the life of the Order and of its works of charity in the hospitals or in relieving destitution and disaster in the Mediterranean. The later chapters, which are given rather odd titles, are concerned with the cataclysmic events of French revolutionary times; though detailed, and often vivid, the narrative here is sometimes confusing.

The achievement of the author is to have drawn attention to an aspect of eighteenth-century history scarcely known in England and well worth recounting, and to have done so with a sympathy and understanding not always shown by English historians of modern Mediterranean topics. The temptation to ridicule the decline of a military Religious Order whose original purpose (the defence of pilgrims to the Holy Land) had become largely obsolete has been eschewed, as has the opportunity to describe the fairly frequent failure of its members to abide by the rule of chastity. We are allowed, instead, to witness the survival of religious principles of compassion, moderation, and brotherhood exercised amidst an oligarchy with every opportunity to sit light to them, and to appreciate the qualities of the last reigning Grand Master, de Rohan, who died in 1797.

E. E. Y. HALES

A STUDY IN AUSTRIAN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY FROM LATE BAROQUE TO ROMANTICISM. By Robert A. Kann. London: Thames and Hudson. 1960. xxii + 367 pp. 35s.

This study is based on a morphological thesis. A cyclic movement which creates historical situations by bringing recurrent ideas face to face with new facts, receives its dynamic impulse from the friction of social forces. The evolutionary process of history can therefore take place only in an atmosphere of freedom where a dialogue of values can deploy itself unhindered by mechanical restraints. The author therefore takes liberal democracy in the broad sense of the term as the vantage point from which he sees the events of his special field of study falling into an intelligible pattern. In this methodological approach lies the strength and the weakness of the work. It leads to a balanced evaluation and to a welcome lack of facile generalizations. A chapter of history whose general European significance has been clouded by the nineteenth-century tradition of historiography and by the final political catastrophe of a system of government based on other notions than the national sovereign state is discussed—up to a point—in the terms and the context of ideas which it regarded as its own. This comment applies in particular to the treatment of the Metternich period where valuable distinctions are made between the practice of government which consciously aimed at being nothing but practice and current trends of political philosophy as represented by Adam Mueller.

This reviewer's complaint is that Professor Kann's chosen principle of observation is not of sufficiently universal applicability. If we want to understand Enlightened Absolutism from the political problem it saw itself called upon to solve, we cannot discuss it in terms of values which liberalism made active in the socio-political sphere. Enlightened Absolutism created the state as a unified system of government in opposition to the feudal order, whereas liberalism modified the idea of state sovereignty which the French Revolution had carried to an extreme, by re-introducing—in the restricted field of private, contractual relations—a state-free system of law. Even though liberalism and the étatism of enlightenment show common features, such as their tendency to separate Church and State, they cannot be brought into a simple relationship of ideological development.

Any indecisiveness in this respect will weaken our understanding of the eighteenth century in terms of its own polarity of ideas. Also in the work under review the ideological climate of the Austrian enlightenment has not been fully grasped. The separation of the administrative and judicial functions of government was not primarily due to a reception of Montesquieu's thought, but arose out of an attack on the legal basis of government by estates. Important intellectual movements, such as Belgian Jansenism, transplanted into Austria by van Swieten, receive scant attention and the cardinal point that the empress's reforms represented really, and in the eyes of contemporaries, a radical break with tradition, has not been sufficiently brought out. Despite these criticisms, it must be said that the work contains a long overdue study of Sonnenfels and is generally to be welcomed as pointing to a field of research whose significance will increase the further we move away from the older concept of the national sovereign state as the exclusive point of reference of modern history.

Technical College, Sydney

H. E. STRAKOSCH

OXFORDSHIRE CLERGY 1777-1869. A STUDY OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH AND THE RÔLE OF ITS CLERGY IN LOCAL SOCIETY. By Diana McClatchey. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1960. vi + 252 pp. 45s.

What is impressive about this book is the exhaustive thoroughness with which the author has fulfilled her appointed task. The excellent maps and very numerous tables supply a mass of factual information. There is a considerable amount of picturesque detail gathered from a wide reading of source material, including a work by a disgruntled convert to Rome, who grew tired of being regarded as a farmer rather than a priest. Obviously much more needs to be known about the clergy of the established church during this period and this book will certainly suggest to others how similar researches could profitably be undertaken in their localities. Yet to all but the most technically minded the reading of it will be an arduous enterprise. There is certainly a great deal about rising stipends, improved vicarages, declining pluralism, charities well used and misused, new work undertaken in the sphere of health and education. Yet the Oxfordshire clergy are not seen sufficiently as living people against the rapidly changing background of the age, with the dilemmas and dramas this must have brought with it. Nor is the distinctive character of the area made apparent by comparison and contrast with others. Above all there is no adequate conclusion for weaker spirits who are only able to absorb a limited number of facts and find it difficult to look

up the train for a railway journey, let alone cope with the complex and numerous tables of Miss McClatchey. Yet perhaps this book was not written for such as them. It is a useful handbook rather than an historical study and will provide a solid groundwork on which others may build.

University College, Swansea

NEVILLE MASTERMAN

DE WETGEVING NOPENS DE NEDERLANDSCHE BANK, 1814-1958. By

A. M. de Jong. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1960. xvi + 578 pp. This study, of the effects of law on the development of the Netherlands Bank, is not a continuation of the author's definitive history of this Bank, so far complete to 1864. The Netherlands Bank is a 'banker's bank', as the author tells us, and is the central issuing bank with the prime function of maintaining monetary stability. Its over-cautious record may well have been one reason for its being taken over by the Netherlands Government in 1948, when its shareholders were compensated with holdings in the public debt. A discussion of the approach of nationalization, an account of the enactments which brought it about, a detailed description of the subsequent structure of the Bank's governing body, and its relation to the Netherlands Government, occupy about a fifth of the book. The period covered by Dr. de Jong's earlier work is only briefly touched on. But every Bank law, including that of 1863, and subsequently, is minutely described, the reasons for it, and its results.

The Netherlands only relinquished the gold standard in 1936. Dr. de Jong wrote at the time on the pros and cons of remaining on gold, and the controversy is summed up in the present book. He also discusses the enactments which enabled the Bank so quickly to repair part of the monetary damage resulting from the German occupation, once the war was over. But as Dr. de Jong has severely limited himself to discussing the relations between law and the Bank, especially in the last part of the book, answers to questions on general issues must wait until he completes his earlier work.

London School of Economics

A. C. CARTER

POLITICAL MESSIANISM, THE ROMANTIC PHASE. By J. L. Talmon. London: Secker and Warburg. 1960. xiii + 607 pp. 50s.

Professor J. L. Talmon's *Origins of Totalitarian Democracy*, which appeared in 1952, examined the political theory of the French Revolution. He brought out, with remarkable clarity, the conflict between liberal ideas and the totalitarian ideas which, in his interpretation, stemmed from the work of Rousseau. The volume under review continues this theme down to the abortive revolution of 1848. Subsequent volumes will deal with the second half of the nineteenth century. When completed, Dr. Talmon's work will constitute a major contribution to the history of political thought.

Dr. Talmon has provided us with a key to his own attitude of mind in a published lecture entitled *Utopianism and Politics* (delivered, significantly, to a Conservative summer school). In it he argues that evil is inherent in human nature; in other words, he starts from an acceptance of the doctrine of original sin. He therefore rejects both the ideas of the Utopian thinkers and their practical applications as futile. One might argue that a belief in perfectibility, misguided though it may have been, added greatly to the enrichment of human personality, yet one cannot but enjoy the healthy cynicism with which Dr. Talmon handles some of the extravagances of the Utopians.

Dr. Talmon writes with a compelling eloquence. He shows a remarkable feeling for the nuances of thought and expression in the nineteenth century. Despite his temperamental distaste, his analysis, to take one example, of the St. Simonian school, is brilliant and illuminating. He has embellished his work with so many epigraphs to each chapter and so many quotations in the body of the work that he has almost provided a source-book of nineteenth-century ideas. Strangely, and perhaps significantly, he does not quote any British writers.

University College of Wales, Aberystwyth

DAVID WILLIAMS

THE MANCHESTER SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS, by William D. Grampp (Stanford University Press: O.U.P. 1960. xii + 155 pp. 25s.), is not about Jevons, Daniels, Jewkes and Devons, but deals with the economic beliefs and arguments of the leading figures among the Corn Law repealers. More fitting titles would have been either 'The Manchester School of Political Economy', or simply 'The Manchester School', the phrase coined by Disraeli in 1846 (the author seems to be unaware of Professor Ashton's article on this subject in *The Manchester School*, Vol. I, 1930-1). Mr. Grampp first divides the members of the School into five groups—the Gradgrind industrialists and businessmen, the humanitarian industrialists, the pacifists, the London Philosophic Radicals and the provincial Radicals of the middle-class. He then tries to show in what respects their varied economic beliefs differed substantially from those of the classical economists, and concludes that there was 'no close correspondence between the ideas of the Manchester School and those of classical economics'. Finally Mr. Grampp traces the course of the agitation itself and the decline of the School after 1846. Much of this has, however, already been dealt with more satisfactorily and in greater detail by Professor D. G. Barnes and Dr. Norman McCord. An excellent bibliography is appended. There are a number of statements in the book which suggest that Mr. Grampp is insufficiently acquainted with the British background, the most extraordinary being on page 12, where the Peterloo Massacre is described as 'the most notable of the early battles for the Charter . . . in which troops put down a great meeting called to declare the Charter the law of the land . . .' An adequate history of the Manchester School remains to be written.

University of Manchester

W. H. CHALONER

PILKINGTON BROTHERS AND THE GLASS INDUSTRY. By T. C. Barker.

London: Allen and Unwin. 1960. 296 pp. 40s.

This is both the history of a firm and the history of an industry. Pilkingtons were a comparatively late entrant to glass manufacture but they soon came to dominate the industry and are now virtually the only manufacturers of flat glass in England. Their origins date from the chance investment by William Pilkington in the St. Helens Crown Glass Company in 1827 of the profits of his wine and spirit business. The works was started at a favourable time in the lee of the building boom of 1822-5 when costs were low in an area with cheap coal, plentiful supplies of raw materials and a rapidly growing market—with the industrialization of the north of England—close to hand. With their closest rival removed as the result of an excise fraud, Pilkingtons prospered and in exactly ten years William Pilkington was able

to dispose of his wine business. Dr. Barker sets his discussion of the subsequent phases of the firm's history firmly against an account of the general course of events in the glass industry. He deals with the activities of the early Crown Glass Manufacturers' Association, with the technical developments, and with the influence of the removal of the excise duty and the window tax. He shows how with the elimination of most of their British competitors and the acquisition of collieries and chemical works Pilkingtons were in a position to meet Belgian competition when the import duty was removed. And the adoption of tank furnaces (which permitted round-the-clock working) put them ahead of their nearest English rivals, Chances, whom they were ultimately to absorb. More recently, the development of the flow process in the 1920s and of the float process in the 1950s have maintained Pilkingtons' technical leadership.

Thus this is a business history rather than an entrepreneurial study. We are told most about the first William Pilkington, the other Pilkingtons are described in less personal terms as austere, strict, hardworking autocrats. But from this study can be gleaned the familiar signs of social advance—the shift from nonconformity in religion to the Church of England, the education of the sons and grandsons at public schools and the older universities, service to the country as J.P.s, M.P., D.L., and now the chairmanship of a government committee. Is not a peerage imminent?

The story of the firm and of the industry is ably told but there must be one regret—that the account of the last fifty years is by nature of an epilogue. If business history is to gain that full status for which Dr. Barker elsewhere has eloquently pleaded, the nettle of recent history must be grasped. We do not withhold judgement from the activities or policies of politicians until they are long dead, why should we treat business men more tenderly? This apart, Dr. Barker's study is a fine addition to the growing shelf of scholarly business histories.

University College, Swansea

W. E. MINCHINTON

PARTY POLITICS: vol. i, APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE. By Sir Ivor Jennings. Cambridge University Press. 1960. xxxiv + 388 pp. 45s.

To Walter Bagehot, writing on the eve of the second Reform Act, it seemed unnecessary to include in his *English Constitution* any consideration of party politics and organization. Forty years later Lawrence Lowell, working admittedly on a larger scale, devoted no less than fourteen chapters in his *Government of England* to the British party system. Now the proportions have been shifted still further by Sir Ivor Jennings who proposes to flank his two classic works on *Cabinet Government* and *Parliament* with three further volumes on party politics. The first of these deals with the electoral system, elections, and electioneering; the two succeeding ones (which we may hope to see before long since they are already written) cover the development of parties and the growth of political ideas. When the project is complete, it will clearly represent a major piece of historical writing, planned on a generous scale, and likely to become the indispensable book of reference for all who wish to know how the British party system grew up and how it functions today.

Sir Ivor Jennings's method of handling this massive problem is clear from the present volume. The approach is historical; at a rough estimate more than half the book deals with developments before 1900. The emphasis,

however, is on the present; and using the many recent studies of post-war elections he is able to provide a mass of statistical and detailed information which will be of permanent value to the student of the contemporary political structure. It also means of course that many of his generalizations, for example the series of propositions concerning electoral behaviour which he lays down in his final chapter entitled 'A Primer of Electioneering', have a strictly contemporary significance. But in his triple capacity of lawyer, historian and academic observer of the political animal, Sir Ivor provides a compendium of the historical development of constituencies, franchise, electoral machinery and political propaganda, and a handbook to the British party-political system of his own time. A mass of interesting facts and a running commentary that is often shrewd, tart and original, are brought together in a single manageable compass.

Yet with its undoubted merits, and they are many, it is not easy to lay down this book without an uncomfortable feeling that in many respects the performance has not equalled the design. This was perhaps partly inevitable from the nature of the survey. Reliance on secondary sources is bound to result in inequalities of treatment. On the eighteenth century, where the ground has been well trenched by a generation of outstanding scholars, the author's handling is generally sound. It is less so on the nineteenth century where much research remains to be done below the surface of the conventional political narrative and where not all of what has been done has been published. Thus there is a great deal more to be said about the second and third reform acts than would appear here. But even where reasonably full information is available, advantage has not always been taken of it. To give prominence to quotations from Trevelyan's *Life of Bright* in a quick summary of the Anti-Corn Law League, or from Yonge on Lord Liverpool's powers as prime minister, is hardly satisfactory even when qualified by prudent reservations on the author's part. The account of Canning's ministry ('a tory Government and a whig Opposition') is misleading or at least curiously muddled; and elsewhere indeed Canning is given altogether too much credit for domestic policy in the 1820s at the expense of his colleagues and the prime minister. Sometimes too the author falls into semi-contradictory attitudes. Compare for example the brief accounts of the 1830 general election on p. xxiii and p. 120 which seem to have been written not only at different times but from different sources; or the approving quotation on p. 119 that the large-scale organized propaganda of the Catholic Association made the Irish 'a nation of politicians' with the remark on p. 123 that *unlike* (reviewer's italics) the Catholic Association, the Anti-Corn Law League was a 'genuinely national organization'. Some of these apparent inconsistencies may be capable of reconciliation; but there are a number of other statements less easy to accept. The ante-dating of the phrase His Majesty's Opposition by twenty years and post-dating of the foundation of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers by thirty are doubtless mere typographical slips and local knowledge might have prevented East Fife and Montrose from being labelled 'residential districts'. But it is odd for a lawyer, in the teeth of the Bill of Rights, to remark that 'Dutch William was, legally speaking, merely the husband of his wife' or to say without qualification or reference to 1824-5 that it was in 1871 that the trade unions were 'legalized'. And what is to be made of a statement on p. 134 that at the end of the fifteenth century probably

half the population of England could read, and another two pages later that in 1840 ten out of eleven people in the country were completely illiterate? If true, did not that extraordinary social retrogression call for comment? But is it true? The first proposition is (*pace* Maynard Smith, who is cited as authority) unproved and perhaps unprovable. The second is apparently based on a somewhat uncritical reading of Professor Aspinall, whose actual phrase is 'totally uneducated', though it is difficult to see what even this is based upon. In fact, as the Newcastle Report makes clear, in 1833 about one in eleven of the total population was a child attending a day-school, and by 1851 the ratio had risen to one in just over eight. Even allowing for defective teaching and much absenteeism, this is a very different picture.

There is in fact running through the book, for all its wit and wisdom, a certain carelessness and impatience. It comes out in the slightly cynical and contemptuous attitude towards the whole race of politicians, and in such revealing remarks as that 'nobody can now pretend to understand' the passions engaged by the Home Rule controversy. It issues more often in summary and distorting generalizations: the Anti-Corn Law League 'spelled the end of influence except in the strictly rural areas'; the English Civil War was 'waged without a newspaper press'; Wesley's movement 'dominated politics for a century'; class-consciousness 'developed among the working class late in the nineteenth century', beginning (we are told with geographical precision) in the mining areas and then spreading to the West Riding and the East End of London. This kind of provocative half-truth is invaluable when dealing with students whose ideas need shaking up. Indeed there is much that is reminiscent of a tutor's conversation in the book: the Senior Common Room joke, the emphasis and repetition, the use of 'Bill Bloggs' or 'Father' to indicate the modern man in the street. But in print all this sits awkwardly with the profounder arguments in the text and the bristling statistical analyses of electoral behaviour elaborated by psephologists. It is not easy to combine the stimulus and entertainment of a tutorial with the soundness and discrimination of a major work of scholarship. The attempt to do so has given Sir Ivor Jennings's book an idiosyncratic character that reduces rather than heightens its value.

St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews

NORMAN GASH

LES DÉPÈCHES DIPLOMATIQUES DU COMTE DE GOBINEAU EN PERSE. Edited by Adrienne Doris Hytier. Geneva: Droz; Paris: Minard. 1959. 267 pp. 25 Sw. fr.

The government of Napoleon III twice sent Gobineau to Persia. He was appointed late in 1854 as first secretary to the mission, headed by Bourée, which had as its object the establishing of regular diplomatic relations between Imperial France and Persia. He went, secondly, as minister to Tehran in 1862-3. The editor has reproduced fifty-three letters from Gobineau's first visit (the letters running from October 1856 to January 1858) and sixty-nine from the second. Practically all this material is now published for the first time. Four illustrations add to the book's value. In the editor's judgement, Gobineau's racial theories (of which two volumes had been published before he first left for Tehran) in no way coloured his view of Persia. During his first visit he was enchanted, but on his second somewhat bored. He was a shrewd, if not always accurate, observer of the affairs of Nasr ad-Din's Court, and of

the problems posed for Persia by the Asian and Middle Eastern rivalries of Russia and Britain. In particular, during both Gobineau's sojourns, Herat was an issue of great importance; on the first because of Britain's intervention on grounds that Persian occupation of Herat would be tantamount to Russian, and on the second because of its incorporation into Afghanistan by Dost Muhammad Khan. The editor has provided useful notes, based apparently on the printed material available, but without recourse to the relevant papers in the Public Record Office and the Commonwealth Relations Office. Raverty would have been a better guide to the geography of Afghanistan than the works cited. A nominal index would have been helpful. It would be interesting moreover to have the Persian policies of Napoleon III related to the other activities of the Third Empire in the Near and Middle East. Diplomatic historians of the nineteenth century will certainly be grateful for the most valuable material contained in this book.

ROSE LOUISE GREAVES

BRITAIN IN THE PACIFIC ISLANDS. By W. P. Morrell. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1960. xii + 454 pp. 55s.

Professor Morrell has placed students of the history of the Pacific Islands in his debt by this masterly analysis. Unlike previous works on British interests in the Pacific, the emphasis is on the activities of the missionary, trader and administrator in the islands and the effects of those activities not only on imperial policy but also on the indigenous cultures. The dearth of histories of particular groups of islands has made the research involved in producing a general study of this kind considerable, especially as the various sources are widely scattered. The sections on the spread of Christianity throughout Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia and the rise of the missionary kingdoms in Tahiti, the Cook Islands and Tonga are based on the printed records of travellers and missionaries. On the partition of the Pacific between the Great Powers in the nineteenth century, American, French and German printed materials have been used to supplement the author's examination of the Foreign Office records and the Dominion archives at Wellington, which also contain the British Consulate archives from Samoa. The account of the intricate manoeuvres which culminated in the annexation of Western Samoa by Germany is particularly valuable. The analysis of Sir Arthur Gordon's system of indirect rule in Fiji, which anticipated Lugard's policy in Africa, and the work of his pupil, Sir William McGregor in British New Guinea, relies on the British Parliamentary Papers, the Colonial Office records and the accounts compiled by officials of their administration.

The exploitation of the manuscript and archival sources on the Pacific is still in its early stages. It is therefore inevitable that many of Professor Morrell's evaluations of policies and their effects on the indigenous inhabitants will be subject to revision. For instance, in his analysis of Shirley Baker's career in Tonga, apart from a biography by Baker's daughter, Mr. Morrell has depended on sources inimical to Baker for his account of perhaps the most virulent controversy in Pacific history and this has led him to underestimate Baker's contribution to the development of Tonga. Similarly, the findings of Professor O. H. K. Spate's *The Fijian People; Economic Problems and Prospects* (Suva, 1959), which have been endorsed by the Commission of Enquiry into the *Natural Resources and Population Trends of the Colony of Fiji*

1959 (Suva, 1960), make one sceptical of Professor Morrell's evaluation of the beneficial effects of Gordon's native and land policies. While this study will long remain an indispensable reference book for students and administrators, appreciation of the complexities of culture contact surely calls for a more extensive acquaintance with the various island peoples than the one visit Professor Morrell made to Fiji in May, 1948.¹

Royal Holloway College, London

D. F. CROZIER

BISMARCK'S RIVAL. A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY OF GENERAL AND ADMIRAL ALBRECHT VON STOSCH. By Frederic B. M. Hollyday. Duke University Press: Cambridge University Press. 1960. x + 316 pp. 60s.

General and Admiral von Stosch, the first Chief of the Imperial German Navy, was the faithful and much-honoured servant of William I, the trusted adviser of the Crown Prince and the close friend of Gustav Freytag and of a wide circle of other distinguished literary and political figures. Yet he never left quite the mark upon his time which a man in his position and with his connections ought perhaps to have done. The explanation is to be found in part in the overriding influence of Bismarck, who disliked and distrusted him, suspecting indeed that Stosch even aspired to supplant him as Chancellor. But there is another clue to the Stosch enigma in the failure of Stosch himself to make what he stood for really clear to his contemporaries. Bismarck, as Dr. Hollyday shows in this 'political biography', fostered the myth of his alliance with Heinrich Rickert and the Left Liberals and of his commitment to the idea of a 'Gladstone Ministry' for Germany in order to discredit him; whereas, in reality, Stosch, far from being a liberal, was a staunch champion of the military caste against the politicians, an early pan-German, an opponent of the political and social emancipation of the working class, whose struggles he was prepared to suppress by force, and, towards the end of his life, a firm believer in the inevitability of conflict with Great Britain. His fundamental beliefs brought him very close to Bismarck (except possibly where Bismarck was more liberal), and he had a deep and lasting admiration for the Chancellor, with whom he found himself in conflict 'from likeness of personality, not from difference of principle'. It was perhaps the existence of so much common ground which prevented Stosch from emerging as a real force against Bismarck. In view of his failure to make his presence on the German political scene felt more decisively Dr. Hollyday cannot rightly call him 'Bismarck's rival'; he was, in fact, merely one of the Chancellor's many not very formidable opponents.

In this fascinating study of an intellectually rich period of German political growth, Dr. Hollyday errs constantly on the side of charity towards his subject, often making him the central figure in events in which his real place was perhaps nearer the periphery. To assert, for instance, that 'the continual obstacles which faced Stosch in beating the French would have daunted a lesser man' and that 'the Orléans campaign established the reputation of Stosch as a field commander of genius' is to convey a misleading

¹ Some minor errors have been noted. For instance, *vakapapalangi*, *vakatonga*, *maraes* (pp. 318, 329, 51) should be *fakapapalangi*, *fakatonga* and *mala'e* respectively, the prefix *vaka* is Fijian and there is no *r* in Tongan. The Tongan *mala'e* is a village meeting place and has not the sacred connotations of the *marae* of Eastern Polynesia, hence it is difficult to understand why 'the *marae* were burnt' (p. 51) when Christianity was introduced. A misprint, *Indonesia* instead of *Melanesia* (p. 387), occurs with reference to the labour traffic.

picture of Stosch's rôle in the war of 1870-1. The fact is that Stosch held his one and only active command (as Chief of Staff of the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg) at the battle of Loigny-Poupry; and the evidence that his was the brilliant mind behind the German troop movements in that decisive engagement comes largely from Fritz Höning, for whose six-volume history (*Der Volkskrieg an der Loire*, Berlin, 1893-7) Stosch himself later provided much information.

C. J. CHILD

THREE AGAINST THE THIRD REPUBLIC: SOREL, BARRÈS, AND MAURRAS.

By Michael Curtis. Princeton University Press: O.U.P. 1960. 313 pp. 48s. The reader may begin by thinking this book has so little to recommend it that he will wonder how Princeton University Press came to publish it. It may seem to him merely a compendium of opinions badly put and ill assorted, a list of complaints against the French republic and the modern world by three perverse, angry and muddle-headed writers with only one obvious advantage over their interpreter: they knew how to write. But if he persists to the end he may be more charitable and more just. The book is, after all, more than an ill-written summary; it has a distinct shape and a critical purpose. It has the makings of a much better book than it actually is. Mr. Curtis is as much critical as expository and his verdicts on these three opponents of the Third Republic, when they are not so obscure as to be unintelligible, are mostly sound. He has steeped himself in their writings and has come close to taking their measure, and this, since they are all three rather complicated and also very un-American persons, is no mean achievement. He sees them for what they really were: confused, unrealistic, provincial, strangely ignorant of their own times and even their own country, too rigid and too narrow to make either compromises or converts, contributing nothing towards solving their country's problems, and yet doing much to undermine her faith in the type of society she had become. Even in the distinctions he makes between the three men, Mr. Curtis is essentially right: Maurras was the simplest, the narrowest, the most completely out of touch with the modern world, isolated and deaf, with scarcely more insight than was needed to inflict cruel wounds on his enemies; Barrès was the closest to being a 'totalitarian' nationalist; Sorel was the most generous, the most original, and the shrewdest of them, a true friend of the workers, like Proudhon, contemptuous of democracy and yet caring for freedom, as conservative in some ways as he was radical in others. And that Proudhon was attractive to all three of them does point, as Mr. Curtis suggests, to important similarities between them: for not only Sorel, but even Maurras and Barrès, though totally ignorant of economics, had a real sympathy for those prejudices and aspirations of the French workers of which Proudhon had been the most eloquent champion.

To those who have had occasion to study these three writers, Mr. Curtis's book may seem better than to those who have not. I do not say this in praise of him. His conclusions ought to be convincing merely on the strength of the arguments and evidence produced in his book, but they are not. It is all so badly presented, so obscure, with too much apparently irrelevant detail, and too many gaps in the argument. The author's command of English is so poor that time and again he fails to say what he means, and he does not know how

to reproduce succinctly for the benefit of his readers the processes of thought which have led him to his conclusions.

Nuffield College, Oxford

JOHN PLAMENATZ

VATICAN DIPLOMACY: A STUDY OF CHURCH AND STATE ON THE INTERNATIONAL PLANE. By Robert A. Graham, S. J. Princeton University Press: O.U.P. 1960. xii + 442 pp. 60s.

This is not a study of Vatican foreign policy, as the title at first sight suggests. Father Graham defines diplomacy as 'the organ or channel of intercourse between the members of the international community . . .' and again as 'the ordered system by which governments enter into direct relations with each other, through the reciprocal exchange of formally accredited representatives'. He points out that since the Renaissance and the growth of the modern international system of separate states, the Catholic Church 'functioning in a world of eighty or more sovereignties, each with its own legal and political system', has seen the old debate between Caesar and Pope transformed from one problem to a multiple of interlocking and continuously developing problems. To deal with this it has been forced to evolve a machinery for negotiation, for the review and administration of Church policy, and for the informed advisal of the Pope, in brief a diplomatic service, a foreign office, and a minister of foreign affairs. Similarly, the individual states faced with an organization outside their boundaries, yet claiming a hold on the loyalties of their citizens, have been forced to recognize, gradually and in a piecemeal manner, the need to extend the normal system of regulating their relations with one another to include the Papacy also. By no means all states have admitted this yet. In some (the United States for example) the issue is still one of internal political importance. Father Graham's book is a study of this dual evolution, this partial and piecemeal recognition, a fascinating combination of diplomatic, legal and administrative history.

The work is divided into four sections. The first traces the origins of the modern diplomatic missions to the Vatican. The second deals with the evolution of the Pope's sovereign status. The fourth covers three special cases; the rôle of the Vatican in the two world wars, the attempt by President Roosevelt to regulate United States-Vatican relations by the device of a 'Special Representative of the President', who would not require (as the appointment of an Ambassador would) the approval of the U.S. Senate; and the relations between the Vatican and the Soviet Union. In general the work is thorough, balanced, judicious and scholarly. No axes are ground, and no sermons are preached.

To this eulogy two criticisms must be added. The last section is by far the most disappointing. The chapter on the rôle of the Vatican in the two world wars deals solely with the question of Vatican neutrality during Italian belligerency. It ignores the question of Papal mediation in the search for a negotiated peace, interesting not only in itself, but as a yardstick by which the position of the Papacy in the eyes of the secular belligerents could be judged. The second chapter is rendered incomprehensible by a similar weakness on the historical side. The third is an attempt to make analytical bricks without evidential straw. Secondly, by the nature of the book it gives only half the picture of the development of Church-State relations, since it avoids matters of Church-State relations inside the individual states; a comparative

study of Church-State conflict in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries would have completed the picture and avoided the impression of incompleteness with which the reader ends the book. All the same it is an important book. It is not exaggerating matters to describe it as an essential to any teacher or student of the development and practice of international relations who is not content to confine that subject to newspaper headlines or pleas for world government.

London School of Economics

D. C. WATT

DEFENCE BY COMMITTEE: THE BRITISH COMMITTEE OF IMPERIAL DEFENCE, 1885-1959. By Franklyn Arthur Johnson. Oxford University Press. 1960. 416 pp. 50s.

This is the long-awaited book on the British method of planning for war, a method derived from late nineteenth-century fumblings and makedshifts which were proved completely inadequate by the early disasters of the Boer War. The C.I.D. in its permanent and recognizable form existed, with wartime modifications, from 1904 to 1946. The present work, however, covers not only its origins but also the system which has superseded it. The author, an American scholar of great thoroughness, exactitude, and—above all—pertinacity, is President of Jacksonville University. This is not entirely an accident, for ever since Pearl Harbour there has been continuous American interest in how the British managed their defence planning.

During the war the main concern was with immediate politico-strategic co-operation. Subsequently the interest has shifted to a consideration of the C.I.D. as a valuable form of previous experience for those engaged in the immense developments in American strategic organization characteristic of the cold war period. This aspect of the subject is fully explored in the last 70 pages of the book.

The author has relied mainly on British Government published documents and Hansard. The remark that 'It was recognized from the start that the sensitiveness of official military subjects in general, and one having to do with a top-level body of the British Government in particular, could make this study a difficult task', reads like a prodigious understatement. Mr. Johnson adds, 'This fact has been complicated by the secrecy caused by the cold war. It was an especial disappointment to find the records of the Cabinet Office completely closed, and that all documents dated 1902 or after which it controls were impossible to examine.'

Nevertheless he has received much personal help, specifically instanced, from Lord Ismay who also writes a Foreword to the book, Lord Chatfield, L. S. Amery, and most important of all, Lord Hankey whose authoritative knowledge of the C.I.D. is unique. Moreover for a very important section dealing with organization and office procedure during the inter-war period, we are told in a footnote that 'the discussion in the following pages has been largely drawn up from extended conversations with *responsible members of the government of the time* [reviewer's italics]. While specific citations cannot be made, the author is confident that the information is correct.'

The C.I.D. was not a 'committee' in the usual sense of the word, since the Prime Minister was its only really permanent member. Nor was it ever truly 'imperial'. As for 'defence', the word was used euphemistically, as elsewhere. Its special characteristics were its flexible character, its anonymity, the

remarkable strength and ability of its permanent secretariat, and the fact that it only acted in an advisory capacity. Its period of major importance was from 1904 to 1914 when in company with reforms such as the creation of a General Staff (also officially described as 'Imperial') and an Army Council, it served, subject to severe financial and policy limitations, to give Britain an entirely unprecedented readiness for war. As might well be expected the author's severest criticisms are levelled at the direction or lack of direction given to the C.I.D. in the inter-war years.

The appearance of the book was greeted by a *Times* leader (20 Oct. 1960) in which is the remark 'Its [the C.I.D.'s] most lasting virtue was to arrange for coherent defence planning without making the surrender so often proved by those who anxiously watched the German example—civilian control and ministerial responsibility were unimpaired.'

London School of Economics

BRIAN TUNSTALL

At the end of Henry Pelling's *MODERN BRITAIN 1885-1955* (Edinburgh: Nelson. 1960. xii + 212 pp., 18s.), the concluding volume of Nelson's new eight-volume History of England, the nature of the readership for which it is intended is no more certain than at the beginning. The intention of the series is 'to provide an introduction to English history which is lively and illuminating' and each volume is to 'combine a clear narrative with an analysis of many aspects of history'. Faced with such a commission, and a mere couple of hundred pages in which to execute it, Mr. Pelling earns our sympathy. Inevitably the 'clear narrative' ousts the analysis and along with it any hopes of liveliness and illumination. Unfortunately Mr. Pelling has found it difficult to preserve the clarity of the narrative, for in each of his chronological chapters a recital of the chief events in external relations precedes any consideration of domestic politics, so that for example we learn that Sir Edward Grey steered Britain into war in 1914 several pages before we are told that there had been a change of government in 1905. The book tries hard to be more than a political history, but the disjointed snippets of information about economics, dress, theatre, films and literature presented in each chapter turn out to furnish no more successful recipe for an integrated all-round history than the segregation practised in the Oxford histories. Mr. Pelling devotes disproportionate space to the field in which he is most at home, that of labour politics; the establishment of the Irish Free State is dismissed in one paragraph, while the General Strike receives three pages. It is for these passages on labour that he will be chiefly read, though surprisingly there is no room, for example, for any explanation of the bearing of such an important event as the Taff Vale decision. For school or university use, however, the fact that depth and interpretation of diplomatic, imperial, political, economic and social issues have been squeezed out by the dictates of brevity, means that this volume must have a limited value.

University College, London

F. M. L. THOMPSON

THE NEW CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY, vol. xii, THE ERA OF VIOLENCE 1898-1945. Edited by David Thomson. Cambridge University Press. 1960. xxii + 602 pp. 37s. 6d.

The final volume of the *New Cambridge Modern History*, devoted to the first half of the twentieth century, must certainly have been the most difficult to

write. The period is admittedly short, but on the one hand a reader who is contemporary with the facts studied demands more than one who is reading about a remoter period, and on the other the comparative shortness of the space allocated to each author compels a strict choice among the events which can be mentioned. These problems are increased by the closeness to the present, which at each step involves a risk of falsifying the perspective and makes the task of synthesis, indispensable if one is to be an historian and not a chronicler, particularly difficult. From this point of view it can be said that the collaborators of Dr. Thomson have very creditably—and sometimes even brilliantly—overcome their difficulties. Nowhere is the reader confronted with a mere enumeration of facts; the more important events are always clearly brought out and on many pages—in spite of their density—one has the impression that a better outline could not have been sketched in the space allowed. Finally, pertinent reflections and suggestive *rapprochements* assist our understanding of historical development and sustain our interest. Among the most successful chapters, it seems to me, are: that which gives an excellent picture of the evolution of the Near East in the last half-century, those dealing with the problems resulting from the appearance of new weapons at the beginning of the century and their influence on strategy and tactics, and the account of military operations in the First World War. The same qualities of balance and objectivity are found in the treatment of international relations, notably from 1910 to 1912, in the study of the immediate origins of the First World War, in that of the Russian Revolution, of the causes of the failure of the treaties of 1929, of the history of the League of Nations, and of the crisis of 1929 in Germany. Again, there are penetrating reflections—to take a few examples—on the growth and set-back of the Socialist parties of Europe between the wars, on the influence of the anti-rationalist current of opinion, on the stifling nature of Dutch rule in Indonesia, and on the reasons why Communism found a particularly favourable *terrain* in French Indochina. There is a judicious comparison between methods of war in the desert and at sea. The origins of planning are traced to the First World War and even behind 1914, and the extent to which Germany was in this respect a precursor is emphasized. Finally, in the last chapter Dr. Thomson shows well how (if not why) in thought and in action this century substituted recourse to violence for the humanitarian ideals inherited from the eighteenth century.

In general, then, the subjects dealt with in this volume are treated satisfactorily. The qualifications one might wish to make are most often of a minor nature. For example, is it not an over-simplification to say that the upheavals of the period profited the peasantry? Doubtless the shortage of agricultural products led to a rise in prices and hence an increase in agricultural income, but it should not be forgotten that it was the peasantry—at least on the continent—which suffered the heaviest losses on the battlefield, and that after a brief prosperity it experienced, subsequent to each World War, a serious crisis for which a solution has still to be found. Might not also the assertion that the Catholic Church has been—in face of the dictatorships—the champion of liberty be susceptible to qualification? If it is true that the church early adopted a position of hostility to Nazism, and rather more tardily to Fascism, should its rôle in the Austria of Schuschnigg and Dollfuss, the Spain of Franco and the Portugal of Salazar, be passed over in silence?

Does the comparison between the functioning of the parliamentary regime in Great Britain and in France allow sufficiently for the difference in the political structure of the two countries,—for a France in which government rests on a centralized administration with a strong army and police force, where, among the political parties, at the extreme left and right are determined and irreconcilable enemies not only of the day-to-day policy but of the regime itself? Again, was not the 'autarchy' attributed to Lenin imposed on him in large part from outside by the blockade and the direct or indirect armed intervention of the Allies?

Essentially, however, the dissatisfaction of the reader arises from the absence of certain chapters. It is doubtless inevitable in a book of this importance that each reader, according to his interests or personal outlook, should wish to see one aspect or another emphasized, and in consequence regret the brevity of the treatment of some subjects (such as the New Deal, or Soviet planning, which is treated more succinctly than Nazi planning) or the absence of others which rightly or wrongly he might have thought essential. Thus one would have liked to see material on the indigenous movements and on the rôle of the army in most South American countries; the fighting in Eastern Europe in the Second World War and its methods might be thought to deserve a treatment at least equal to that devoted to the war in the African desert and the Asian jungle. Above all, the volume is clearly oriented on Europe. The chapters devoted to the American Continent, to the problems of the Near and Far East, to India and South-eastern Asia, and the Pacific during and on the morrow of the First World War, represent 105 pages out of 569, less than one-fifth of the volume, and even so the problems of these areas are often envisaged in relation to Europe. Even the title of the concluding chapter 'European civilization in the mid-twentieth century' indicates the point of view of the authors,—a somewhat surprising one for a period in which the extra-European world increasingly took charge of its own destinies, and in which it began to free itself from the political control of Europe even if it continued to follow the European model in the domain of culture. Even from the point of view of a still dominant Europe, is it not surprising that the history of the U.S.S.R. after the Revolution is only given passing mention, as is that of Germany after 1933, and of the new states of Central and Eastern Europe, whose difficulties played such an important part in the deterioration of international relations and the rise of fascist regimes. Above all it is difficult to understand why the Second World War is only the subject of some scattered paragraphs, why the Resistance in Europe and Asia only has a few lines, and why intellectual life, the plastic arts, music, the humane sciences, literature (except that of France and of Great Britain after 1930) are passed over almost in silence. These gaps explain the element of regret which the reader feels after he has read this fine volume, which at the moment has no equivalent in the English language, and which is likely to render valuable services.

MAURICE GROUZET

DER POLNISCHE GRENZSTREIFEN 1914-1918—EIN BEITRAG ZUR DEUTSCHEN KRIEGSZIELPOLITIK IM ERSTEN WELTKRIEG. By Immanuel Geiss. Lübeck and Hamburg: Mathiesen. 1960. 188 pp. DM. 18. German plans during the 1914-18 War to annex a strip of Polish territory

did not materialize because the policy planners did not dare to complete the annexation in defiance of international law while hostilities were in progress, and then they lost the war. This brief study of a little known subject constitutes an important contribution to the history of war-aims and also helps to show the essential continuity of German foreign policy leading to the Nazi period. The annexation plans which were the product of late Wilhelmine nationalism not only were in line with the traditions of the *Drang nach Osten* but also clearly anticipated the Nazi *Lebensraum* idea and many features of Hitler's occupation of Poland; the detailed plans prepared envisaged a wholesale expulsion of Poles and Jews in order to make room for German settlers, and the Nazis can be justly regarded as the heirs and executants of this policy.

The study is based on German official documents many of which are in Eastern Germany. It convincingly refutes Bethmann Hollweg's assertion made shortly after the war that he had always opposed the annexation of Polish territory, which has been frequently accepted as true despite General Ludendorff's assertion to the contrary. Mr. Geiss disproves the thesis of the only previous substantial treatment of the subject by Werner Conze, *Polnische Nation und deutsche Politik* (1958), that both Bethmann Hollweg and the Governor-General of Warsaw, Beseler, belonged to a 'Central European Party' which only temporarily agreed to the annexionist plans in 1915 and 1916 owing to ultra-nationalist pressures from the outside.

University of Aberdeen

J. FRANKEL

Mr. Isaac Deutscher's **THE PROPHET UNARMED, TROTSKY: 1921-29** (Oxford University Press, 1959. xii + 490 pp. 38s.) is the second instalment of his three-volume study of Trotsky, whom he considers to be 'one of the most outstanding revolutionary leaders of all times, outstanding as fighter, thinker, and martyr'. It opens in 1921 when Trotsky still seemed to be second to Lenin in prestige and influence and ends in 1929 when he sailed from Odessa into an exile from which he was never to return. Mr. Deutscher's account of Trotsky's decline and fall is brilliantly written and of absorbing interest, and in spite of his tremendous admiration for Trotsky and his whole philosophy of life he never glosses over what he believes to have been Trotsky's errors of judgement in analysing particular situations and deciding on specific courses of action. These errors of judgement were numerous and explain in part why Trotsky lost the struggle for leadership of the Bolshevik party after Lenin's illness and subsequent death. But his real mistake and the source of many of his errors of judgement lay in his failure to comprehend how much was accidental and 'subjective' in the events of 1917 and to ask himself whether even the Bolshevik revolution was necessarily the fulfilment and vindication of Marxist prophecy. During what Mr. Deutscher calls 'the decisive contest' of 1926-7 he rightly says that Trotsky 'hurled all his thunder and lightning into the void'. But at this very moment when 'History' was in a sense taking revenge on Trotsky for rushing her off her feet in October 1917, he wanted to rush her off her feet again in China. No wonder that she preferred suitors who were in less of a hurry.

School of Slavonic and East European Studies, London

G. H. BOLSOVER

HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR: UNITED KINGDOM CIVIL SERIES.

Edited by Sir Keith Hancock. London: H.M.S.O. and Longmans, Green. FOOD. Vol. ii, STUDIES IN ADMINISTRATION AND CONTROL. By R. J. Hammond. 1956. 835 pp. 50s. STUDIES OF OVERSEAS SUPPLY. By H. Duncan Hall and C. C. Wrigley. 1956. 537 pp. 37s. 6d. FINANCIAL POLICY 1939-1945. By R. S. Sayers. 1956. 608 pp. 37s. 6d. INLAND TRANSPORT. By C. I. Savage. 1957. 678 pp. 47s. 6d. MANPOWER. By H. M. D. Parker. 1957. 535 pp. 40s. LABOUR IN THE MUNITIONS INDUSTRIES. By P. Inman. 1957. 461 pp. 35s.

More than a score of volumes of the Civil History of the War have now been published and the original grand design has been substantially realized. What has emerged from more than a decade of patient activity is a work of sustained high quality, distinguished particularly by wealth and accuracy of detail and by soberness of judgement. It is a notable example of contemporary, official and co-operative history—all forms suspect by the more conventional of orthodox historians—and throws much light on the strength and weakness of such forms of enterprise.

The ability to check and recheck information not only in the labyrinthine files of ministries but out of the mouths of the administrators themselves has patently been of benefit to the historian. But this very advantage has had its equally obvious dangers. At the end of the twelve-hundredth page of Mr. Hammond's exhaustive study of food control (two volumes published; a third promised) the reader may be forgiven for feeling that no egg has been left unturned, no British Restaurant unvisited. In fairness to Mr. Hammond, however, it must be said that the responsibility is not primarily his. This is an instance when the instinct of the historian has had to bow before the needs and pressures of the department. The temptation to say too much has, in general, been nobly resisted. What is more detrimental to the character of the histories, from the standpoint of the general historian, is the de-personalization of policy-makers and administrators which was one of the accepted conditions of the enterprise. It is not to question the wisdom and necessity of this condition to say that it has taken a significant dimension out of each volume.

The one study which has contrived to escape this cramping limitation is Professor Sayers' examination of financial policy. Mr. Sayers, of course, has had much in his favour. He has no need like Mr. Inman or Mr. Parker to attempt to ride the twin horses of policy and administration, but can follow the single theme of policy in its various ramifications; and such is the stature of his policy-makers that, breaking every rule, he can place them fully and firmly upon his stage. Bretton Woods without Keynes would be as unthinkable as *Hamlet* without the Prince.

Of the six studies here under notice those on food and overseas supply have presented their authors with the least enviable of tasks. In both, administration rather than policy-making has forced itself to the forefront, giving the studies a static rather than a dynamic quality. Mr. Savage, by contrast, has been able to present a clear, coherent and not uncritical account of developing transport policy. His book has many of the qualities of Mr. Sayers' study, and for similar reasons. Both Mr. Savage and Mr. Sayers are able to give their subjects a wider context than the narrow confines of the war economy itself. Mr. Savage effectively sets the problems of a wartime

industry against the background of its pre-war development. Mr. Sayers has had an even greater opportunity and has seized it with both hands. Not only does he make clear that finance was the central hinge on which the whole war economy moved: he is also able to see the war of 1939-45 as a decisive turning point in the general history of British public finance. It is this in particular which will commend his book to British economic historians, who have, in general, been so fully occupied with the economics of peace that they have tended to regard war as a diversionary element in economic life rather than a subject worthy of study in itself. It is perhaps significant that the only two substantial studies of English economic development in the Napoleonic Wars have been written by a Swede and a Frenchman.

It is illuminating to compare these volumes with those published after the First World War under the auspices of the Carnegie Foundation. The latter were unofficial and without benefit of free access to official sources. The work was only lightly co-ordinated and the contributors were very varied. Sir R. A. S. Redmayne, the distinguished mining engineer and wartime coal controller, for example, wrote on the history of the coal industry, and the still youthful G. D. H. Cole on the industry's labour problems. The result was a series of volumes uneven in quality, sometimes sketchy and opinionated, but also frequently lively, uninhibited, and perceptive. It would be capricious and unwarrantable to prefer these early histories to the highly professional studies of the present Civil History, but it is undeniable that the changed approach has brought some loss as well as more obvious gain.

Yet the overall impression derived from these six volumes is of work of painstaking thoroughness and no less skill on the part of contributors and editors alike: so much so that one would like to have one more, as yet unpromised, volume—a history of the writing of the *Civil History* itself. For the general historian this might be the most interesting of all.

University College, London

ARTHUR J. TAYLOR

The CAHIERS DE DOLÉANCES DU TIERS ÉTAT DU BAILLIAGE DE ROUEN edited by Marc Bouloiseau has now reached its second volume, LE BAILLIAGE PRINCIPAL (Rouen: Imprimerie administrative de la Seine-maritime. 1960. 508 pp. 25 NF.). Those who have used the first volume (noticed *ante*, xlivi. 267) will not need to be told of the careful and detailed scholarship with which the editor has performed his task. Here is, for a region of domestic industry, material of major importance for that social analysis of France at the end of the ancien régime which is so obviously needed as the next step in the re-interpretation of the French Revolution.

An interesting addition to the already extensive documentation on the events of July-August 1789 in Paris is LE JOURNAL DE FOUGEROUX DE BONDARY (Paris: Hermann. 1961. 222 pp.), which forms volume ii in *Lavoisier et la Révolution française*. It is well edited by Lucien Scheler, with the collaboration of W. A. Smeaton. As well as illustrating the day-to-day reactions in the district Saint-Louis de la Culture, which included the Bastille, the journal reveals the local activities of Lavoisier in scientific and administrative questions at this period.

Lloyd P. Gartner's *THE JEWISH IMMIGRANT IN ENGLAND 1870-1914* (London: Allen and Unwin. 1960. 320 pp. 30s.) is a well-documented study of the years when cheap fares, safe transport and relatively open borders combined with urgent reasons for leaving Eastern Europe to induce many to emigrate westwards. England received over 120,000. America drew many more, but London ranked next to New York and Chicago as a Jewish town. The immigrants' story is well sketched to make a useful key to the already voluminous literature on England's Jewry.

THE AMERICAS

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, 1670-1870: vol. ii, 1763-1870. By E. E. Rich. London: Hudson's Bay Record Soc. 1959. x + 974 pp.

With this volume Professor Rich completes his official history of the Company down to 1870 when it surrendered its right of government over the vast estate which Charles II had conferred in its original charter two hundred years previously. Here, we have, perhaps even more unmistakably, that sure mastery over detail and complexity which he displayed in his first volume. So well does Professor Rich know the Hudson's Bay records that he quotes with ease and wit: he has an eye for the pithy phrase and the amusing aside. The chronicle of his main theme is enlivened by his own alert commentary: the detail itself is rarely tedious, often fascinating. In this second volume Professor Rich traces the mounting rivalry with the Pedlars and other interlopers from the Bottom of the Bay who coalesced into the North West Company: a common law company without charter, status, responsibility or privilege, or even without harmony, for inner rivalries developed between 'the old concern' and the 'XY Company'. Such a challenge temporarily stimulated the Hudson's Bay Company into new activity; but in the long run it was too complaisant, and both concerns, 'old' and 'new', hoped to absorb it. Without permanent, established forts which inhibited flexibility, with energy, enthusiasm and courage, often with cynical ruthlessness, the North Westers extended their explorations, and their lines of communication, westwards. A period of expansion followed in the steps of Alexander Mackenzie, and an independent fur market was established in London. Amid the detail of the great struggle between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North Westers there was the episode of Selkirk's Red River colony: a pawn in the unscrupulous intrigue and protracted negotiations leading to the union of the two groups. Professor Rich tells the story with impartiality: he also shows how the war against Selkirk was fought not only in the lawless Middle West, but in Scotland and Westminster. In the end the North Westers secured on their absorption into the chartered Company a *de facto* status which probably did more than justice to their exhausted condition.

The second half of the book concerns itself largely with the governorship of Sir George Simpson, his economies and his journeys, first speedy, then with increasing pomp (including his piper); with the problem of over-trapping; with the final acceptance of Selkirk's precarious colony at Red River; with rivalries with Russia and the United States on the West coast, especially in Columbia; and with the colony of British Columbia. The

volume concludes with the negotiations which led to the Deed of Surrender to the Crown, not to the Canadian government, and the problem of Riel and the *métis* at Red River which remained as a legacy for the new federation of British North America.

These two volumes of the History of the Company constitute a work of high scholarship. As is usual with publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society they are handsome, finely printed volumes. However, it did come as something of a surprise to be faced by a photograph of the present Grand Seigneur when the narrative was still embedded in the 1820s, and it might have been instructive to pander to readers with a sketch map of Simpson's travels. Moreover it took this reviewer (by stop-watch) thirty-two minutes and four seconds to cut all the 974 pages of text—with only five overlooked and three carelessly hurried botches. Is this a record?

Nuffield College, Oxford

A. F. McC. MADDEN

THE JEFFERSONIAN IMAGE IN THE AMERICAN MIND. By Merrill D. Peterson.

New York: Oxford University Press. 1960. 548 pp. 60s.

This is not, writes Mr. Peterson, 'a book on the history Thomas Jefferson made but a book on what history made of Thomas Jefferson'. The final 63 pages, filled by an admirable *Guide to Sources*, demonstrate how large has been his field of enquiry. To read, and to comment upon everything written in America about Thomas Jefferson might be an impossible task, but Mr. Peterson has missed nothing of significance and the result is an important, penetrating and readable book. Claimed by all parties (including the Communists), quoted on every side of every question, inconclusive and often inconsistent, Jefferson has been for a century and a half the greatest single influence upon American political thought and action. Mr. Peterson has done more than anyone else to explain the enigma, and has woven around the general theme fascinating discussions of the historians (including Henry Adams, Charles Beard, Vernon Parrington and Claude Bowers) who have tried to understand Jefferson and of the politicians who have claimed to carry his mantle. At the end of the road he observes the paradox that while so much has been written 'the informed scholar now realizes how little is *really* known about Jefferson. . . . What was Jeffersonian Democracy? The older definitions are patently inadequate.' The idea for this book might have occurred to an anti-Jeffersonian who was concerned only to demonstrate the inadequacy of Jefferson's ideas for a solution of American problems in the century after his death; inner contradictions are always tempting for the ironist, and the result might have been an amusing book. It would also have been a bad book which would have added little to our understanding. Mr. Peterson knows that a part of Jefferson's strength lay in his lack of concern over inconsistency, and he believes that at the heart of Jefferson's thought lay something which was important and unassailable. It is the inconsistencies which have made Jefferson a source of aid and countenance to politicians of every school, but it is his concern with human liberty which has made this continued search for a Jeffersonian blessing worth their while. Mr Peterson is just the right man to have tackled his chosen theme and the result is a first-class book on American intellectual history and essential reading for all who wish to understand American democracy.

Selwyn College, Cambridge

W. R. BROCK

R. W. Van Alstyne's *THE RISING AMERICAN EMPIRE* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1960. xii + 215 pp. 30s.) is based upon the Commonwealth Fund Lectures delivered by the author at University College, London, in 1956. Claiming that the United States emerged from the War of the Revolution against Britain as a national state, the author surveys its 'subsequent growth pattern', which can hardly be regarded as a felicitous phrase, although it does suggest a natural organic development of an American way of life extending far beyond the narrow frontiers of 1783. Professor Van Alstyne, however, is mainly concerned with the diplomacy of American territorial and, to a less degree, commercial and cultural, expansion, and its international repercussions. Concisely and effectively he summarizes a long, complex, and extremely interesting succession of events and developments. He surveys the rivalries of British, French, Spanish, and, above all, white American peoples in the Atlantic area stretching to the great hinterland valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, which was followed by the 'Manifest Destiny' era of overland expansion to the Columbia, the Rio Grande, and the Colorado. He concludes his survey with the brief Spanish War of 1898, which saw the American Republic the paramount but not unchallenged Power in both the Caribbean and the Pacific. To deal with all these historical issues and their implications in a single short book is impossible, but Professor Van Alstyne has provided a most commendable introduction to the subject, and has synthesized most successfully the results of his own vast scholarship and researches. He is not afraid of using words like 'empire' and 'imperialism' which so many Americans seem, even yet, to regard with no less abhorrence than orthodox Marxists; nor does he seek to conceal or excuse not only Polk and Buchanan, but even Jefferson and Woodrow Wilson for adopting policies or conceiving projects which latter-day critics of the United States condemn and, often at the same time, attempt to copy. The emphasis on diplomatic history has slightly obscured commercial and economic factors which demand consideration, but in a few lectures and in a short book sacrificial omissions had to be made; for the same reason one can hardly ask here for an analysis of 'imperialist' relations with the American Indian tribes. Professor Van Alstyne, too, is concerned with the acquisition rather than with the settlement and development of the American Empire. His book is admirably annotated, although one might wish that, for ease of reference and nothing more, he had provided a brief critical bibliography.

University of Liverpool

JOHN ROWE

In *ARTIGAS AND THE EMANCIPATION OF URUGUAY* (C.U.P. 1959. xiv + 406 pp. 52s. 6d.) Dr. John Street has made a notable contribution to the history of Spain's loss of empire and of the struggle for nationhood in South America in the early nineteenth century. Dr. Street has used a wide range of manuscript sources from archives in South America, Spain and England, and he handles the published material with confidence. Moreover, it is apparent on every page that he is familiar with the actual environment of his story, and consequently his account of the social, economic and geographical forces which form the background of his narrative is always convincing. Although Artigas is the national hero of Uruguay, he is not a suitable subject for a full-scale biography, and Dr. Street has not intended to provide one. In this case the events were bigger than the man, and it is the

emancipation of Uruguay, not the career of Artigas, that compels attention and provides a theme for the book. In the River Plate area it was not a simple struggle of Spaniards against creoles. Events were complicated by conflicting forces within the area itself and by intervention from outside: the local rivalry between Montevideo and Buenos Aires, the imperial rivalries of Spain and Portugal, British military invasions and commercial interests. Dr. Street shows in detail—at times perhaps in too much detail—how Uruguayan nationalism survived not only these vicissitudes but also the movement to federate the countries of the Plate, partly because of its own strength and partly because the forces struggling for the possession of the key to the River Plate, Argentina and Brazil, were too well matched for either to win a clear victory. The narrative is well constructed, admirably documented, and succeeds in making intelligible the complicated history of revolution and independence during which Uruguay passed from colonial to nation status.

University of Liverpool

JOHN LYNCH

BRITAIN AND ARGENTINA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By H. S. Ferns.

Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1960. xiv + 517 pp. 63s.

The connection between Britain and Argentina has long been recognized by authors in both countries, but Dr. Ferns is the first to give a detailed and scholarly account of it. As he tells us, his book begins with men and ends with movements—economic movements. This arrangement certainly reflects one of the leading features in the development of Anglo-Argentine relations in the nineteenth century, and perhaps explains why this important topic has not been seriously treated before. The fact is that economic history is weakly represented in Latin America, and economic historians elsewhere are only now beginning to turn to a field which offers great scope and interest. From the English Invasions of 1806 and 1807 to the Baring crisis of the 1890s this book shows the interplay of economics and politics with particular reference to the impact on Argentina of British enterprise. The period from the Boer War to the First World War, which was, as Dr. Ferns says, 'the golden age of the Anglo-Argentine connection', is unfortunately not dealt with. But Dr. Ferns is able to marshal evidence from the Public Record Office and other sources to answer the most pressing question, as well as others, concerning that connection: 'Can the term imperialism be applied to Anglo-Argentine relations,' as it commonly is applied by Argentines? His answer is naturally not a straightforward 'yes' or 'no', although he can state that Britain did not apply her political power to increase the success of her nationals' enterprises in the Republic, but that on the other hand 'the British investor received help and protection from the Argentine Government not the British Government'. It would have been interesting if Dr. Ferns had found it possible to complement his sources with Argentine archives; and some of us would have been grateful for a bibliography. Misprints occur here and there, especially in the Spanish names.

Fitzwilliam House, Cambridge

J. STREET

Experience explains, if it does not condone, the 'exhausted patience' by which Gladstone accounted—in 'the rushing mill-stream of our affairs'—for the slovenly working-out of the emancipation of the slaves and lack of the care

needful to prevent retrogression in former slave colonies. The 'Groans of the Plantations' were as wearisome by 1838 to the British Government as the truculent belligerency of the Jamaica Assembly, a legislature which had defied plans of amelioration. As Dr. D. Hall remarks in *FREE JAMAICA, 1838-1865: AN ECONOMIC HISTORY* (Yale University Press: O.U.P. 1960. xi + 290 pp. 40s.), the Assembly boasted a violent history. In the early eighteen-forties, it was still essentially a planter stronghold, but it did not lapse into passive despair. Dr. Hall depicts planter vitality and resourcefulness until the 1846 sugar duties act, on which he focuses this study of the post-emancipation years in Jamaica. The effects of the act on prices and confidence brought deflation of spirit and long political disturbances. Earlier scholars such as A. V. Long in *Jamaica and the New Order, 1827-1847*, to whose work Dr. Hall does not refer, had already stressed this act as a blow to Jamaica, while they had appreciated the progress of agricultural improvement up to 1845, the attainment of some social stability, and the Assembly's readiness as late as 1845 to entertain new ideas. Dr. Hall discusses the gradual worsening of relations between employers and labourers, and between the people and the Assembly and governor. His book, in which he is severe with the myth of the 'lazy negro', advances understanding of developments in Jamaica from emancipation to the Morant Bay rising, which he believes was not inevitable. While the book has many valuable tables, charts and appendices, there is no bibliography. It is to be hoped that later volumes in the Yale Caribbean Series, of which this is the first, will have this aid to other scholars.

Birkbeck College, London

I. M. GUMPSTON

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES, 1895-1903. By A. E. Campbell. London: Longmans. 1960. 216 pp. 30s.

In this sophisticated book the author argues that 'only by some . . . irrational thought process can the continued improvement of Anglo-American relations at the end of the last century be explained', and that a sense of community resulted in a surprising willingness on the part of Great Britain to accept the often outrageous demands of American diplomacy. But, in the global context of British policy were the stresses between the two countries so vital? Was Britain in a position to follow a rigid policy? What of the Siam crisis, of tensions with France, of anxiety over the Franco-Russian alliance, of troubles in Africa and of awareness of Germany's growing naval strength? Was the naval power of Britain herself strong enough for the possibility of war with the United States ever to be seriously considered? Of what importance in the making of policy was the fact that the frontier between the United States and Canada was long and undefended? What of the second Venezuelan crisis which led Theodore Roosevelt to remark that 'the British have behaved badly'? Important though the ties of Anglo-Saxon kinship undoubtedly were, was there so much mysticism in Anglo-American relations? Was not the British reaction to American 'aggressions' based very securely upon the realities of power? It is a tribute to the thought-provoking qualities of this book that the reviewer should be left with questions in his mind rather than the feeling often experienced after reading diplomatic history that the story is very familiar and that most of it has been told before.

University College of North Staffordshire

D. K. ADAMS

A GUIDE TO THE STUDY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: REPRESENTATIVE BOOKS REFLECTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN LIFE AND THOUGHT. Prepared under the Direction of Roy P. Basler by Donald H. Mugridge and Blanche P. McCrum (Washington: Library of Congress. 1960. xv + 1193 pp. \$7). To meet the greatly increased flood of inquiries about all aspects of American life received in recent years by the Library of Congress from all over the world, Dr. Basler and his colleagues have produced this monumental general guide, which covers books about every aspect of American life from Baseball to Philosophy. It contains five chapters of specifically historical bibliography. It should most admirably fulfil the intentions of its authors: 'References have been selected to meet the requirements of serious readers, students seeking orientation, and librarians engaged in developing collections of books about the United States. It is hoped, however, that the advanced specialist also may find the volume a useful desk reference book, particularly for subjects outside the range of his expert knowledge.'

An American nineteenth-century publicist who put himself forward as a disciple of Filmer against Locke was naturally not likely to have much influence; and when he defended slavery by attacking capitalist industry he was obviously destined to win hostility on all sides. George Fitzhugh, who published *CANNIBALS ALL! OR SLAVES WITHOUT MASTERS*, now edited by C. Vann Woodward (Harvard University Press: O.U.P. 1960. xxxix + 264 pp. 36s.), in 1856, argued that 'our Southern slavery has become a benign and protective institution, and our negroes are confessedly better off than any free labouring population in the world'. On a lower level, Fitzhugh was a kind of American Carlyle and not uninfluenced by the English writer. A different picture is painted in the *NARRATIVE OF THE LIFE OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS, AN AMERICAN SLAVE, WRITTEN BY HIMSELF*, published in 1845, which made its author one of the leaders in the struggle for the emancipation of the American Negro. It is a lively, affecting and genuine book, now republished with an introduction by Benjamin Quarles. (Harvard University Press: O.U.P. 1960. xxvi + 163 pp. 28s.)

AFRICA

PORtUGUESE IN SOUTH-EAST AFRICA, 1600-1700. By Eric Axelson.

Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press. 1960. x + 226 pp. Disillusioned readers of the late S. R. Welch's highly tendentious history of the Portuguese in Southern Africa will be glad that Dr. Axelson is going over the same ground again with equal attention to detail and with much greater attention to accuracy. So far as Mombasa and Portuguese activities on the Swahili Coast north of Cape Delgado are concerned, Dr. Axelson has not been able to add anything of importance to the admirable work of Justus Strandes, *Die Portugiesenzeit von Deutsch-und Englisch-Ostafrika* (Berlin, 1899), an English translation of which is due to be published shortly in Tanganyika. As regards Moçambique in general and Zambesia in particular, if Dr. Axelson's extensive researches in the archives at Lisbon, Evora, and Goa

have not produced any surprises, they have enabled him to paint a more detailed picture than his predecessors writing in English. He has chosen to concentrate on the military and administrative aspects which admittedly loom largest in the original correspondence between the Crown and its advisers at Lisbon on the one hand, and the colonial authorities at Goa and in Moçambique on the other, on which he has chiefly relied. Some readers may regret that he did not discuss in more detail such matters as the functioning of the famous (or infamous) *prazo* system of land tenure, the missionary and the mining techniques, and the *Banian* or Indian-trader problem, instead of summarizing at what is often rather wearisome length royal dispatches which, in the upshot, exercised little or no influence upon the actual course of events. It is true that 'the smallest detail was referred to the highest authority' but action did not always wait upon the receipt of a reply which could seldom arrive in less than two years. The book is well produced and illustrated, but many of the unfamiliar Portuguese and Bantu place-names mentioned in the text might well have been inserted on the rather empty map of the 'country of the Monomotapa'.

King's College, London

C. R. BOXER

EGYPT IN THE SUDAN, 1820-1881. By Richard Hill. London: Oxford University Press for the Royal Institute of International Affairs. 1959. xi + 188 pp. 25s.

THE MAHDIST STATE IN THE SUDAN, 1881-1898. By P. M. Holt. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1958. 264 pp. 35s.

Specialized tribal studies apart, the modern Sudan has usually figured in English historiography either as an exotic background to feats of arms and exploration or as a 'problem' in imperial and foreign policy. Interest in its internal history has been perfunctory and uncritical; the Turco-Egyptian administration has often been regarded almost as 'a chapter in the history of crime', and the *Mahdiya* written off as 'a static tyranny, varied only by picturesque atrocities'. Mr. Hill and Dr. Holt have written, largely from record sources, the first full-scale scholarly surveys of the *Turkiya* and the *Mahdiya* as chapters in Sudanese rather than in Egyptian or British history. Their accounts will be required reading not only for their fellow-workers in this field, but for all who are seriously interested in the contemporary Sudan, where the political and sectarian forces which were generated between 1820 and 1898 are still very actively at work.

Mr. Hill sets himself a two-fold task: 'to explain the nature and significance of the Egyptian occupation of the Sudan', and 'to show the Egyptian Government prosaically at work in office and camp, in district and village'. In the present state of knowledge it was probably impossible for Mr. Hill to succeed completely in his first objective; and his final chapter of conclusions is not always supported by the body of the book, which perforce emphasizes the problems of the administrators rather than the reactions of the administered. Muhammed 'Ali, the creator of the Egyptian Sudan, dominates the earlier chapters. Energetic, impatient, an uncritical enthusiast for economic 'development schemes' but a shrewd judge of men, he harried his Governors into improvising an administration for his vast and heterogeneous conquests. His policy, a strange blend of the archaic and the modern, combined an obsessive search for gold, and the *ghazwa* for slave-recruits and

cattle in the non-Muslim frontierlands, with a genuine zeal for administrative decency and for the economic and cultural improvement of his Sudanese subjects. Down to about 1840 the Government was struggling to assert itself against populations who resented the innovation of an active central authority; its methods were sometimes heavy-handed, but rarely wantonly oppressive. But the Sudan was expected at least to pay its way; and taxation, assessed as a lump sum and inevitably collected on the principle of catch-as-catch-can, bore hardly on those who were weak and accessible.

After Muhammed 'Ali's death there was a loss of drive and direction. Cairo oscillated between ruling the Sudan now as a unit and now as a collection of separate provinces; Governors came and went with almost untraceable rapidity. Ismā'il's reign brought greater administrative stability; but the subjugation of the pagan South and of Darfur, in theory by the Government but in practice by adventurous and aggressive slave-trading frontiersmen, brought grave new problems. The uninspired bureaucrats who had succeeded Muhammed 'Ali's tough and self-reliant soldier-governors were not the men to grasp the nettle; at best they were ineffectively conscientious. Yet down to the 1870s there was real if slow economic development; and the administration's activities in, for instance, the field of public health went beyond mere good intentions.

Mr. Hill's treatment of the decline and fall of the *Turkiya* is disappointing. The scanty documentation has throughout imposed upon him a rather episodic exposition; but here we have little more than *faits divers*. Gordon is considered, refreshingly, as an Egyptian official and not as a subject for hagiography; but the problems which faced him between 1877 and 1880 are superficially presented, and their relevance to the rise of Mahdism is scarcely suggested. In assessing the 'Egyptian Legacy' Mr. Hill emphasizes that practical exigencies ultimately constrained the Khalifa to adopt Egyptian administrative practices originally condemned by Mahdism as 'apostacy'; but some of his other instances seem rather trivial—for example, the technical vocabulary of the Sudanese artisan. And have contemporary Sudanese intellectuals tended to follow the literary and political fashions of Cairo mainly because Egypt once ruled the Sudan?

Dr. Holt was more fortunate than Mr. Hill in that the Mahdist archives at Khartoum form a tolerably complete set of administrative records and are not mere *disjecta membra*; but it was a bold venture to attempt a major synthesis from this difficult material. Dr. Holt handles it with a deceptive ease born of intimate acquaintance, and illuminates it from his wide knowledge of general Islamic history. He sketches the history of *Sunnī* Mahdism as a traditional popular protest against Islamic governing institutions deemed not only oppressive but lukewarm in the practice and the defence of the Faith; and then analyses the typically pre-revolutionary discontents of the Egyptian Sudan which formidably strengthened an agitation already congenial to the miracle-haunted fundamentalism of Sudanese popular Islam. The regional and tribal rivalries which underlay the domestic tensions of the Mahdist State are elucidated, and the tacit abandonment of Mahdism as a universal restoration of the primitive Islamic *umma* is traced. 'Mahdism in one country' implied a foreign policy in transition from the *jihād* to national defence, and unacknowledged administrative borrowings from the *Turkiya*;

the institutions which emerged are described and their working illustrated. Only in his treatment of the diplomatic background to the Anglo-Egyptian reconquest does Dr. Holt write with less than his usual authority.

Whatever the results of future research, it will be difficult to supersede this work as an introduction to the *Mahdiya*. The style is lucid and economical; the structure and proportions of the book are as admirable as its meticulous scholarship. It is a pity that the maps are unpleasingly drawn and do not indicate tribal distribution.

University of Khartoum

G. N. SANDERSON

SIR GEORGE GOLDIE AND THE MAKING OF NIGERIA. By John E. Flint. Oxford University Press. 1960. xiv + 340 pp. 30s.

BORRIOBOOLA-GHA; THE STORY OF LOKOJA, THE FIRST BRITISH SETTLEMENT IN NIGERIA. By Howard J. Pedraza. Oxford University Press. 1960. xii + 118 pp. 18s.

The independence of Nigeria has provided an occasion for a flood of new books dealing with the territory's history. Some of these are serious historical studies, others *pièces d'occasion*. Dr. Flint's book unquestionably belongs to the former category and, together with the recently published second volume of Miss Perham's *Lugard*, forms a major contribution to an understanding of the processes by which Nigeria became British. Unfortunately its merits may be obscured by a misleading title which may perhaps have been occasioned by a desire on the part of its publishers to cash in on Nigerian independence.

In the first place, this is not really a life of Goldie. Goldie destroyed his personal papers, and the materials for a full biographical study simply do not exist. Dr. Flint thus covers the thirty years before Goldie first went to West Africa in 1876 in eight pages, and the twenty-five years remaining to him after his connection with Nigeria was severed in 1900 in a further seven. In the circumstances this was inevitable, and it can also be defended—as Dr. Flint to some extent does defend it—on the ground that the whole of Goldie's contribution to history was contained within the Nigerian activities of his middle period. This may be true, but one of the most remarkable things about this extraordinary man is just the fact that neither in the first third of his life nor in the last does he seem to have made any impression on events. In view of the ability and energy, and the restless ambition, displayed in his maturity, this surely merits some enquiry. Dr. Flint does provide some guidance to the quiescence of Goldie's retirement, but when this is set against the lively terminal activities of comparable contemporaries like Harry Johnston or Lugard, one cannot but think that an essential key to the mystery is missing. Goldie's early years, his brief flirtation with the army and his longer involvement in the Sudan with an Arab mistress, and also perhaps his relationships with his wife and with Flora Shaw (briefly examined by Miss Perham but not by Dr. Flint), all considered in the light of his Nigerian career, suggest that here was one of the notable imperial eccentrics of the period, in the line perhaps of Gordon and T. E. Lawrence. But what impelled him; why was he once so powerful and then so negligible a force; what really was his influence on the young Lugard, on Miss Shaw, on Chamberlain even? Dr. Flint can provide some external clues, but he cannot take us towards the real heart of the man and the matter; the best illumination we

have must perforce remain the flickering, subjective light of Dorothy Wellesley's Memoir.

Secondly, Goldie was not a maker of Nigeria, and, despite his title, Dr. Flint does not really try to argue that he was. We may still, retaining perhaps something of the spirit of the Berlin West Africa Conference of 1884-5, choose sometimes to think of Nigeria as an area on the map of Africa, but the reality of the country, of any country, lies in its people. In this sense there was a Nigeria long before Goldie first came to its shores. Not only did its peoples possess, as they still possess, their own separate individualities and traditions, but they also had a history of interrelationships which may be traced back for the best part of a millennium. Furthermore if any single individual is to be adjudged 'maker' or 'founder' of the specific political entity that we now call Nigeria, it is not Goldie, but Lugard (whose claim is advanced, interestingly enough, on the dust-jacket but not in the contents of Miss Perham's book). Goldie hardly even brought British rule to most of the vast area technically within his sphere of operation. As Dr. Flint very clearly explains, his rôle in the history of Nigeria was to bamboozle the French into recognizing a British claim of pre-emption to what was to become Northern Nigeria, following which it was possible for the European chancelleries to settle boundaries and for Lugard and the West African Frontier Force to establish first British suzerainty and then administration.

But if Dr. Flint has not written a biography of Goldie, and if his book is not about the making of Nigeria, what he has done, within the limitations of the sources available to him in the records of the Foreign and Colonial Offices and the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies, and in the John Holt and the Scarborough papers, is quite admirable. He gives us what must be the definitive account of Goldie's creation of the Royal Niger Company to monopolize the trade of the middle Niger, and of his conversion of his creature into a political instrument, and he relates this most expertly to the political background in Britain, Europe, and Africa. The consequences of this strange expedient, within Africa, as well as without, are clearly and critically set out. This is in fact the history of the Royal Niger Company (*Chartered and Limited*) as an imperial instrument, which has been so badly needed, and it will not easily be superseded.

It would be unfair to suggest that *Borrioboola-Gha* is a *pièce d'occasion*, but it is not much more than an illustrative aside to the fundamental work of men like Dr. Flint or Professor Dike. Mr. Pedraza is probably correct in thinking that if Lokoja is remembered today it is because of an accident of literature, because of the scorn which Dickens attached to Mrs. Jellaby and her like, and although it was the geographical setting for the formal take-over by Lugard and the Colonial Office from Goldie and the Royal Niger Company in 1900, it is almost certainly too much to claim that 'Lokoja was the germ of Nigeria'. Lokoja was a symptom, not an embryonic element of colonial expansion in Nigeria. The merit of Mr. Pedraza's book is that he has essayed a local history of a town, one which had its brief moment of historical significance; for this is the sort of thing that must be done more and more for African territories if we are to begin to understand their histories as we do that of our own country. It is a pity that he could not have been more careful with details. The facts that the town of Cape Coast is referred to as 'the Cape Coast' and the omission of any mention of Richard Lander's death may not

in themselves be significant, but they do cast some suspicion on the accuracy of the more essential detail of Mr. Pedraza's local history.

School of Oriental and African Studies, London

J. D. FAGE

THE STORY OF THE RHODESIAS AND NYASALAND. By A. J. Hanna. London: Faber. 1960. 288 pp. 21s.

There was need for a concise and scholarly synthesis of the research published in recent years on the history of British relations with Central Africa, and from many points of view Dr. Hanna has met it well. His volume is attractively written and generally well-informed; he deals judiciously with many difficult problems of exposition. In the controversies currently raised by the Federation issue, he chooses a central position; this means, for example, that he records the existence of discriminatory practices in the Rhodesias, indicates some of their social and legislative origins, but sees possibilities of amelioration in the history of recent policies and social attitudes. As the story of Europeans in these territories his book will do very well. As a history of the whole region—a 'Story of the Nation'—it is less satisfactory. The Asian communities are mentioned only incidentally; references to the development of African political consciousness are relatively cursory, and sometimes, as in introducing Dr. Banda, appear gratuitously derogatory. But by far the greatest weakness lies in the second chapter, which attempts to provide historical perspective for the African population as it existed at the first European contacts. Highly-charged words like 'savagery' and 'civilisation' are freely used, and, 'on the whole the picture is one of brutality, callousness, suffering and futility'. Insights provided by modern anthropology into the structure and dynamics of traditional African states tend to be dismissed as barely relevant hair-splitting; indeed, at times Dr. Hanna's chief aim seems to be to pursue his feud with Professor Gluckman. Righteous indignation on the business of past centuries seems misplaced in a work of scholarship. Very few people today like the thought of children being roasted alive, whether in cold blood over a camp-fire or as the result of aerial bombardment; but one useful result of historical study may be to show how such things come to happen in certain societies. No doubt anthropologists, and those historians who try seriously to learn from them, often imply moral judgements on African societies which merit criticism and even polemical attack. But Dr. Hanna's decision to launch such an attack here has marred the balance of his book and frustrated his avowed intention of minimizing the 'subjective element'.

University of Aberdeen

J. D. HARGREAVES

THE STRUGGLE FOR ARAB INDEPENDENCE (Beirut: Khayats. xiii + 297 pp. 1960. 40s.), by Zeine N. Zeine of the American University of Beirut, begins with the negotiations in the Near East of which the best known result was the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916. It traces the intricate triangular struggle that followed between Great Britain, France and the Arabs, and ends with some wise reflections on the whole episode and its historical sequel. Professor Zeine, with the advantage of a command of Near Eastern as well as European sources, has produced an important book.

A series of broadcast talks on pre-colonial Africa, by leading authorities on their topics, has been edited as **THE DAWN OF AFRICAN HISTORY** (Oxford

University Press. 1961. vii + 105 pp.; boards 10s. 6d., limp cloth 5s. 6d.). It will interest the general reader and would make a valuable addition to any school library.

GENERAL

Professor Leonhard von Muralt has been recognized ever since the appearance of his important study of the Disputation of Baden in 1926 as an outstanding Swiss historian. He is now actively engaged, in addition to his normal duties as Professor of History in the University of Zürich, upon the last stages of the complete works of Zwingli in the *Corpus Reformatorum* and he is largely responsible for the continued success of *Zwingliana*.

Instead of the usual miscellaneous collection of indifferent essays in a *Festschrift* his admirers have given us his collected papers, *DIE HISTORIKER UND DIE GESCHICHTE* (Zürich: Verlag Berichthaus. 1960. xvi + 352 pp.) is an impressive and representative group of articles, lectures and essays, of varying length, gathered under the three headings of historiography, Swiss history and general history. A short notice can but indicate their wide range and acclaim their consistent excellence. For Muralt, as for Butterfield, history reveals God's purpose; complete objectivity in its writing is unattainable. Ranke and not Burckhardt, Pestalozzi and not Treitschke, are his heroes. The longest and most powerful essay, published originally in 1946, passionately endorses the right of Switzerland to continue to exist as an independent sovereign Federal State, the midwife of the modern world, the experimental testing place of twentieth-century democracy.

No better account of the origins of the Wars of Religion in France can be found in short compass than that in this volume; Calvin, the French Revolution, and Metternich are incisively assessed. Throughout the essays runs a thread, that of pre-occupation with the use and limits of power or force (*Macht*), and what he has to say in this regard about Machiavelli and Bismarck deserves the closest attention. Every page of this valuable volume bears the unmistakable imprint of the work of a great historian.

University of Sheffield

G. R. POTTER

HISTOIRE DE L'OCÉAN INDIEN. By Auguste Toussaint. Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1961. 286 pp. 15 NF.

The author points out in his introductory chapter that the history of the Indian Ocean has been relatively neglected in comparison with that of the Atlantic and of the Pacific. He further justifies his own work by observing that neither of the two standard books on the subject, Alan Villiers, *The Indian Ocean* (London, 1952), and J. Auber, *Histoire de l'Océan Indien* (Tananarive, 1954), is by a professional historian. In his own treatment of this topic, he deals with the pre-European period in the first 100-odd pages, with the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the next, and with what he aptly terms 'La thalassocratie anglaise' and contemporary events in the last third of the book. He takes the Indian Ocean at its widest definition, alluding sometimes to events in Indonesia and the China Sea, with a short appendix on 'La mer australe'. This seems to be about the right proportion, and the

reproach levelled against some volumes in this series called 'Pays d'outre-mer. Colonies, empires, pays autonomes', that they tend to a slight (and understandable) bias in favour of French colonialism cannot be levelled against this one. The chief archivist of Mauritius has taken great care to be fair to all concerned, and his work leaves nothing to be desired on the score of impartiality. The book is provided with sketch-maps, a bibliography, and index, but shows some signs of being put together in too great haste and with too much reliance on indifferent secondary authorities. For instance, the Luso-Dutch struggle for Ceylon, which lasted from 1638 to 1658, is here said to have raged from 1602 to 1664. The Dutch East-Indian Company is said to have been dissolved in 1780 although this did not occur until eighteen years later.

King's College, London

C. R. BOXER

MAN AS CHURCHMAN. By Norman Sykes. Cambridge University Press. 1960.

xii + 204 pp. 21s.

Under this enigmatic title the Dean of Winchester has published his Wiles Lectures delivered in the Queen's University, Belfast. The central theme is that since the sixteenth century ecclesiastical history has become 'in some wise a court of appeal' in questions of Christian doctrine; and the principle is affirmed that 'the dogmatic element in Christianity must necessarily have a sufficient foundation in Scripture, and theological doctrines purporting to rest upon events of history must have an adequate basis of historical evidence'.

In his first lecture Dr. Sykes establishes the claim of ecclesiastical history to be 'a truly historical exercise' in spite of its concern with Christian faith and theology, which, as he points out, have to do with the interpretation and evaluation of certain facts of history. In illustration the second and third lectures report in detail the long and continuing debates upon two important topics in which appeal is inevitably made to historical documents, viz. the Petrine Primacy of Rome, and the doctrinal authority to be ascribed to Scripture and tradition respectively. The debates between Romanists and Protestants on these subjects are familiar, less so those within the Roman Catholic Church itself. Dr. Sykes shows that at the Tridentine and the Vatican Councils they were prolonged with much divergence of view, and led to carefully worded authoritative decisions not always in accord with the principle stated above.

The final lecture is not easily fitted in to the scheme. The subject is Church, State and Education since 1815, education receiving special attention as being 'the meeting place or battlefield for Church and State in the modern world'. Dr. Sykes reviews developments in England, France, Germany and Italy, with particular reference to the difficulty which confronts an infallible Church if it is to adjust itself to conditions in which freedom of conscience is accepted as a rule of State. Here there may be discovered a clue to the title of the book, for the conclusion is reached that Churches (Man as Churchman) must claim and at all costs maintain freedom to teach the truth as each sees it, but must also learn to accord the same freedom to those who differ. Dr. Sykes' untimely death will be widely regretted as a serious loss to scholarship.

New College, Edinburgh

JOHN H. S. BURLEIGH

IN PRINTING IN LONDON FROM 1476 TO MODERN TIMES (London: Allen and Unwin. 1960. 224 pp. 28s.), Miss P. M. Handover turns a series of lectures into a book with a scope much wider than its title suggests. She sketches the growth and organization of the trade in books from its pre-printing days onwards. Caxton, the mercer, brought printing to London. The Stationers received their charter in 1557. There followed a struggle to gain and keep copyrights, the device of 'the English stock', James I's support for the Universities' challenge to the London printers, and the rush of periodicals during the Civil War. By 1700 the booksellers were triumphing over the printers. 1702 brought the first daily newspaper, followed by the growth of the influential periodical press and, in the nineteenth century, mechanization, technical journals and mass circulation. Much is well known, if less conveniently collected, but the Bible patent and the work of the jobbing printer are largely discoveries. The scope is wide—sketches of such innovators as John Wolfe, John Bell and John Walter II of *The Times* being reinforced by pictures and diagrams of many of the innovations.

The whole forms a stimulating commentary on English history, from the Tudor government's desire to stop seditious views and the Stationers' wish to keep down the number of master printers, uniting government and company in limitation that some would call repression, to such fundamentals of nineteenth-century history as Cobbett's success in bringing newspapers within the reach of the working class and *The Times*, impregnable in its circulation of 55,000 as against the *Morning Post*'s 3000, fortifying its supremacy with ever-improving technology. Well-documented and pungently written, this venture into print is well worth while.

University College, London

T. F. REDDAWAY

THE STATIONERS' COMPANY: A HISTORY, 1493-1959. By Cyprian Blagden.

London: Allen and Unwin. 1960. 321 pp. 50s.

Much London livery company history consists of descriptions of Halls and dinners, details of customs and procedure, and information about bequests and their management. This is, to some extent, inevitable for by the time written evidence becomes available in quantity, the crafts to which these companies owed their origins have either gone into decay or are no longer strongly represented in the hierarchy and, in consequence, social functions and administration of charities loom ever more important and trade ever less. To this pattern the Stationers' Company provides a welcome exception, for it was not until the coming of printing in the later fifteenth century that the book trade could develop beyond its narrow medieval limits. The Stationers' quickly became an agent for the Tudors' campaign against seditious and heretical literature, and, even before their charter of incorporation in 1557, all books had to be registered with them unless protected by royal privilege. From control of printing and copyright the Company, in 1603, gained control of the sale of certain books printed in English, notably psalters, psalms, primers and—in a very different category—almanacks. The management of this English Stock proved most profitable: there were murmurs of protest if dividends fell below 12½ per cent and for many years the Company was concerned more about its warehouses than the upkeep of the Hall itself. This monopoly, like all the others, was soon under attack but the Company, largely thanks to the 'clever and resilient' Miles

Flesher, contrived to keep its rich prize. Indeed, the monopoly was not broken until 1775 and even after that the Stationers' were able to keep the lion's share of the lucrative almanack trade because the high, wartime levels of stamp duty kept out those without large capitals. It was only after the repeal of the duty in the 1830s that income from almanack sales became of less importance and the Stationers' became more concerned with charities than with business. Their school, for instance, was opened in 1861.

Mr. Blagden has written a careful and trustworthy book, not without its criticisms of the Company's activities. He himself clearly takes a realistic view of monopolies and the opportunities for jobbery which went with them, and his dry comments on all this nest-feathering considerably enlivens his story. It is a difficult and involved one. The narrative has to be interrupted from time to time by more detailed comment and, despite references forwards and backwards (and an unusually good index) this makes parts of the book rather heavy going; but on the whole Mr. Blagden has picked his way through these complexities with considerable adroitness. This is a valuable contribution to business, as well as to livery company, history.

London School of Economics

T. C. BARKER

THE SUN INSURANCE OFFICE 1710-1960. By P. G. M. Dickson. Oxford University Press. 1960. xiv + 324 pp. 45s.

Reticence about the recent past and convictions about the general merits (or otherwise) of business activity frequently limit the usefulness of business history. This study does not escape these traps. Sub-titled 'The history of two and a half centuries of British Insurance', it is concerned mainly with the period before 1900. The past sixty years (nearly a quarter of the firm's life) receive only seven pages and statistical data ends abruptly in the 1890s. Furthermore, although the Sun's achievement (the nature of which is not clearly defined) merits praise, its development in the past was at times so uneven that it warrants a good deal of critical discussion. Within these confines, however, Mr. Dickson's book is a sound and useful contribution to business history. The origins, institutional and market developments of the business are traced chiefly on a topical basis. The structure and mechanics of the firm thus stand exposed, although this method precludes portrayal of the managers in full action. Economic historians will be interested especially in the managerial arrangements of the office, its investment portfolio and the development of its foreign business in the nineteenth century. The book is distinguished by temperate judgements, excellent writing and convincing portraits. Consequently it is both enjoyable and instructive. What a pity Mr. Dickson did not tackle the task differently. Parts of this book clearly show that a much bolder approach lay within his powers.

University of Leeds

W. G. RIMMER

As a very short history of Christianity in Scotland from the conversion to the present day, **SCOTLAND: CHURCH AND NATION THROUGH SIXTEEN CENTURIES** by Gordon Donaldson (London: S.C.M. Press. 1960. 128 pp. 8s. 6d.) is masterly; it is wonderful how much Dr. Donaldson has been able to include by dint of never wasting a sentence. The essay is fullest from the Reformation to the present, and a thickening of footnotes shows where the author's closest knowledge and interest lie. Yet the overall picture is well

balanced, and in every section Dr. Donaldson can summarize a wealth of learning into one or two telling sentences. Two themes stand out: the church in Scotland has always been closely bound up with the idea of the Scots nation; and 'the Reformation was a reaction in favour of an episcopate and of the laity'. Even if one is struck by the strangely close parallels between the Reformation church and the modern Episcopal church, one cannot deny the power of the arguments by which Dr. Donaldson revises the received version of the period from Melville to the Revolution—perhaps the best, and certainly the most crucial, part of the book. Although the book is a piece of pleading, subtle yet eirenic, its factual basis is unassailable. One may doubt if Tiron is in Brittany, if monks came from Arrouaise, if war between Scotland and England ceased after 1560, and if 1560 was the 'quarter-centenary' of anything; but these are minute flies in a richly concentrated ointment.

University College, London

G. W. S. BARROW

Though building is an activity as old as society, and one in which men have long displayed a high degree both of technical skill and of artistic achievement, the architect as a professional man is a comparatively recent phenomenon. In **THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARCHITECTURAL PROFESSION IN BRITAIN; A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY** (London: Allen and Unwin. 1960. 223 pp. 21s.), Mr. Barrington Kaye investigates the history of the profession in this country and traces its somewhat painful emergence in the early nineteenth century and its subsequent (by no means untroubled) development up to and beyond the passing of the Act of 1938 under which only registered persons may describe themselves as architects. The factual basis of Mr. Kaye's book is well prepared. Anyone who is interested in the subject will find here all the relevant dates and names, together with a comprehensive guide to the literature, much of it highly esoteric. He will also find some interesting observations on the nature of professionalism in general and its architectural manifestations in particular. Architects (as Mr. Kaye points out) have two preoccupations, their artistic integrity and the practical needs of their clients, and the problem of how to reconcile the one with the other lies behind much of the difficulty which they have found in the past in accepting the full implications of professionalism. Though there are some topics (e.g. the aristocratic patronage of architects in the eighteenth century, and the conduct of competitions in the nineteenth) upon which more might profitably have been said, Mr. Kaye's book is, within its self-imposed limits as a sociological study, a very competent piece of work, and to complain (as anyone familiar with the far from colourless history of the profession may be inclined to do) that the story as told by him is somewhat lacking in human interest, is perhaps to criticize the sociological approach rather than its handling in this particular instance.

St. John's College, Oxford

H. M. COLVIN

In **MORE IRISH FAMILIES** (Galway and Dublin: O'Gorman. 1960. 320 pp. 45s.), Dr. Edward MacLysaght adds to the work in his earlier *Irish Families: their names, arms and origins*. In the present work one appendix is devoted to *errata* and *addenda* in the former work, while another valuable one brings the bibliography up to date and adds a useful book-list on the Irish overseas—

the 'Wild Geese'. About another two hundred and fifty families are discussed here; most of them are naturally more obscure than those dealt with in the first book, though some—such as Talbot of Malahide—can only have been omitted there by accident. Much attention is paid to the etymology of the names cited, but rather less to their early history; it would probably be difficult to substantiate of the Bellew family (and others) that they really 'went to England from Normandy with William the Conqueror'. Under the same family, in listing the persons of interest who have borne the name, it seems anomalous to include an obscure administrator of the diocese of Waterford and omit the present Garter King of Arms. The descent of the Grace family from Raymond (Fitzgerald) le Gros, a prominent figure in the Anglo-Norman invasion of the twelfth century, is accepted without detail; but one wonders if this pedigree would stand up to modern investigation. Like its fellow, this is a useful book to which to refer, and of particular interest to the student of Celtic names: it will also provide the genealogical enquirer with some information, with an excellent bibliography, but probably not with the final answer to his problem. There is one coloured plate of arms: and the whole work is most handsomely produced.

Trinity College, Oxford

MICHAEL MACLAGAN

Most of the learned societies of Finland were well established before the country declared its independence in 1917. Through them, Finland presents the record of its scholarship and in them it expresses its national identity. The Finns, no less than the Scandinavians with whom they have such close academic co-operation, are fortunate in the number of research series available for their scholarly publications. The size and frequency of the volumes appearing in *Historiallisia Tutkimuksia* suggest that finance is a less serious difficulty for the maintenance of a research series than in Great Britain. Ten were published in 1956–9. The language which they employ is Finnish, except for one volume in Swedish which is the language used by somewhat less than a tenth of the Finns. Throughout the last generation, it has been the practice of learned societies to include summaries in German or English.

The ten volumes treat of men, trade and institutions. Their themes, of local rather than of general interest, concern the impact of ideas and institutions of west European origin, rather than their dissemination from Finland. Generous appendices give some idea of the nature and origin of primary source materials in a country where every facility is available for the collection and care of archives.

The men are ANDERS DE BRUCE, 1723–87 (1957) by Hans Hirn and CARL REINHOLD SAHLBERG, 1779–1860 (1956) by U. Saalas. Anders de Bruce, an eighteenth-century officer belonging to the landed gentry, was concerned with many aspects of organisation and improvement of the Grand Duchy. He was among the earlier Finns to promote local industries, to attempt to ease trade by establishing more markets, to urge the construction of new highways, to build parish storehouses against famine years, to initiate husbandry improvements and to map the features of his little-known land. C. R. Sahlberg's life spans the end of the Swedish and the beginning of the Russian period of suzerainty. Although he was much more an academic than a man of affairs, he lived in an age when university men could still plough a broad furrow. He was an economist as well as a natural scientist and his

extensive botanical and ethnographical excursions combined utilitarian as well as scientific motives.

The institutional studies range from a substantial investigation into the definition of legal status in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—Y. Blomstedt, *LAAMANNIN- JA KIHAKUNNAN TUOMARINVIRKOJEN LÄÄNITÄMINEN JA HOITO SUOMESSA 1500 JA 1600 LUVUILLA* (1958)—to an early history of gymnastics and athletics—A. Halila, *SUOMEN MIESVOIMISTELU-JA URHEILUSEURAT VUOTEEN, 1915* (1959), a topic of considerable Finnish appeal. The establishment of the orders of Finnish nobility and the problems of assessing their estates engages the attention of M. Jokipi, *SUOMEN KREIVI-JA VAPAAHERRAKUNNAT* (1956). The need to find an equitable assessment for fishing, hunting, milling and trading rights, for potash and saltpetre recovery, as well as for land and moveable goods, taxed the ingenuity of early administrators. The more limited opportunities of taxation and the inequity of imposing burdens upon marchland settlers subject to frequent skirmish and intermittent invasion are reflected in E. Kujo's *TAKA-KARJALAN VEROTUS V:EEN 1710* (1959). Its field of investigation is inner Karelia down to the early eighteenth century, with taxation principally upon houses, animals and grain. An institution of a different character, but one also related to the eastern marchlands, is J. Teperi's *VIIPURILAINEN OSAKUNTA, 1828-68* (1959)—a survey of the old Viipuri student corporation. The histories of these student corporations are an integral part of the social history of Finland in that so many of the founding fathers of the nation have been closely associated with them. V. Piirainen, *KYLÄKIERROLTA KUNNALLISKOTIIN* (1958), is a more circumscribed investigation dealing with the institution of poor relief in Savo and North Karelia during the nineteenth century.

Trade turns attention beyond the coasts of Finland. The Baltic tar trade has been a favourite topic for economic historians and K. Hautala adds his contribution in *SUOMEN TERVAKAUPPA, 1856-1913* (1956). These are the years of decline which accompany the change in softwood uses and values. Turku as a trading city at the end of the eighteenth century is the theme of A. Wuorinen, *TURKU KAUPPAKAUPUNKINA RUOTSIN VALLAN LOPPUKAUTENA* (1959), the first volume of which deals with the structure of the city's trade. Turku, known in the Swedish period as Åbo, was at that time still the administrative centre of the Grand Duchy.

All of these volumes make frequent reference to place-names little known outside Finnish contexts and any reader interested in the history of this northern land requires an atlas. Over a decade ago, Eino Jutikkala, now Professor of Finnish History in the University of Helsinki, was wise enough to foresee the need for *An Atlas of Finnish History* (Helsinki, 1949). His maps are indispensable for illuminating the setting of studies such as those in this series.

University College, London

W. R. MEAD

A short yet comprehensive work, *NATIONALISM: A RELIGION* (New York: Macmillan Coy. 1960. 187 pp. 35s.), by the doyen of American historians of the subject, Carlton J. H. Hayes, is to be recommended. The reader should, however, bear two considerations in mind. First, that Professor Hayes' disposition to identify nationality with language is so strong that he can insist

on 'the fundamental common nationality of Englishmen and English-speaking Americans, or that of Spaniards and Spanish-Americans'. Secondly, that an understandable tenderness towards the Roman Catholic Church leads him, for example, to speak of the 'apparent condemnation of "progress, liberalism, and modern civilization"' in the *Syllabus* of 1864; and to be silent on the complicity of the Church in France in the nationalist anti-Semitism of the Dreyfus affair.

The abridgement of Toynbee's *STUDY OF HISTORY* by D. C. Somervell has now appeared in one volume (Oxford University Press. 1960. xix + 1003 pp. 45s.).

A revised edition, with two additional chapters covering the period since 1939, has been published of Ralph Flenley's *MODERN GERMAN HISTORY* (London: Dent. Revised ed. 1959. xii + 452 pp. 36s.). The first edition was reviewed in *History*, xli. 218.

A useful addition to the 'Que sais-je?' series is *LA NOBLESSE* (Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1959. 128 pp.) by Ph. du Puy de Clerichamps.

THE PAST WE SHARE (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 1960. 308 pp. 63s.) is a lavishly illustrated picture-book of Anglo-American history edited by Peter Quennell and Alan Hodge. Presumably intended for the Christmas present trade, it excludes nearly everything unpleasant from the past.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE WORLD (London: Thames and Hudson. 1960. 379 pp. £5 5s.) is a magnificent picture-book with 36 colour plates and 269 plates in photogravure. The text, translated from the German of Albert Betten, is slight, but the illustrations, practically all contemporary with the discoveries they record, are well chosen and finely reproduced. The publishers are particularly to be congratulated on their realization that if a book is to depend mainly on its illustrations, the format and scale of reproduction must be large enough for the details to be properly appreciated.

The *GROSSES HISTORISCHER WELTATLAS*, III Teil: Neuzeit (Munich: Bayerischer Schulbuch-Verlag. 1957. xvi + 91 pp.), edited by Dr. Josef Engel, is an invaluable work of reference, though too full and complicated to be of real use as an instrument of teaching in schools. It concentrates mainly on Europe and pays particular attention to military campaigns. The Americas are inadequately treated.

TOWN AND SQUARE FROM THE AGORA TO THE VILLAGE GREEN, by Paul Zucker (Columbia University Press: O.U.P. 1959. xxiii + 287 pp., 96 plates, 55 figs. £6), is a valuable analysis of town squares throughout history, combining an appreciation of their æsthetic importance with a discussion of the historical and social reasons for their existence. The author's dual thesis is supported by historical references and copiously illustrated with photographs and with reproductions of early plans and diagrams.

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PUBLIC PETITIONING AND PARLIAMENT BEFORE 1832

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THE MODERN AGE of politics, whose distinctive feature is the close participation of a national public in state affairs, commences not with the Reform Act of 1832, but with the creation of those means of agitation which finally enabled the Act to be carried. Admittedly in the history of constitutional law 1832 is recognized as the watershed dividing the traditional system of government from the modern.¹ This, however, merely illustrates how casual is the coincidence between the development of formal law and the unintentional and often unperceived alteration of political practices. For deliberate enactments are not only the agents of change: they are themselves suggested and made possible by the informal evolution of politics. Thus while the Reform Act was designed to give the people a firmer control over Parliament, it was itself the product of a new kind of public opinion, and of novel conceptions about the place of public opinion in the constitution.

It had been apparent from the commencement of George III's reign that politically the times were out of joint. In the decades that witnessed the succession of Wilkes, Wyvill, and finally the Jacobin Clubs, it could be imagined that these portents were the product of an unprecedented but temporary ferment caused by the excitements of a series of wars, but after 'profound peace' had been restored in 1815 there could be no mistaking the importance and permanence of the change that had taken place. An entirely new kind of public had come into being, which appeared to be stronger than the government.² Francis Place, writing in 1829, recounts how, when Pitt came to power in 1784, 'It was only on some very particular occasion that opposition was to be feared by the minister, and even then it was not in consequence of the merits of the question . . . but of the personal consequence of his opponents.' But the French revolution, he thought, had so stimulated independent political speculation that thereafter the government could no longer presume on an ignorant public. The Liverpool administration, feeling a 'want of power' by comparison with earlier

¹ Sir Ivor Jennings found (preface to 1st edn. of *Cabinet Government*, 1936) that 'few of the precedents before that date [1832] bore any relation to the modern Constitution'.

² To cite one example, Robert Owen in his *Address at the City of London Tavern*, 21 Aug. 1817, observes: 'The government of this country cannot now resist the influence of the public voice, whether it be right or wrong.'

ministries, 'resolved to attempt its recovery'. Hence the repressive measures of 1817 and 1819. But, Place concludes, 'notwithstanding all the energy and impudence of ministers, all the efforts of the aristocracy to sustain them, the power of public opinion was silently yet continually bringing them under its influence'.³

Even the traditional Whig view of the nature and rôle of public opinion had become an anachronism by 1815. The Whigs conceived of public opinion as a checking, not an initiating, force, operating on specific and infrequent occasions by crude, convulsive efforts, in the spirit of their doctrine of 'resistance'.⁴ If the people should become restive, it followed almost *a priori* that they were being hard pressed or overtaxed by authority. Thus Lord John Russell, in a treatise of 1823, attributed the popular discontent of his age to an increase in the 'influence of the Crown', which had, he argued, unbalanced the constitution: '... the progress of the influence of the Crown', he writes, 'is by slow and gradual advances', while 'the resistance opposed by the people acts by sudden and occasional efforts'. The former 'is increasing rapidly and continuously, and ... the murmurs that it excites from time to time, serve only to produce new restrictions upon liberty'.⁵ But in fact the Crown's patronage, though swollen by war taxation and establishments, had on balance been diminished by various reforms and stricter usages, while the power of opinion was undeniably greater. So that, if Dunning had had the best of the argument in 1780, by 1816 Southey had more reason on his side when he retorted:

At present it is the influence of the democracy which has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished. Whatever additional influence the Crown has obtained by increased establishments ... is but a feather in the scale, compared to the weight which the popular branch of the constitution has acquired by the publication of the parliamentary debates.⁶

It was however becoming clear that the old doctrine of balance was ceasing to be applicable to the more sophisticated opinion that had begun to exert a constant pressure on Parliament. 'It seems to me a curious crisis,' comments Peel in 1820, 'when public opinion never had such influence on public measures, and yet never was so dissatisfied with the share which it possessed. It is growing too large for the channels that it has been accustomed to run through. ... the engineers that made them never dreamt of various streams that are now struggling for a vent.'⁷ The crisis posed the alternative of increasing social disorder or parliamentary reform, and was acute enough to persuade

³ B.M. Add. MS. 27,809, ff. 41-7.

⁴ See for instance the *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxvii (1816), p. 249, where the security against the 'open invasions of power' is said to be 'the influence of public opinion, and the apprehension of resistance, intimately connected with it'.

⁵ Lord John Russell, *Essay on the History of the English Government and Constitution*, 2nd ed., pp. 451-2.

⁶ *Quarterly Review*, vol. xvi (1816-17), p. 252.

⁷ *Croker Papers* (ed. L. J. Jennings), i. 170. Peel to Croker, 23 Mar. 1820.

discerning men like Francis Jeffrey, who did not believe in the theoretical merits of reform, to accept it after Peterloo simply 'to conciliate and convince the people'.⁸ Commenting upon Southey's anti-democratic conclusion already quoted, Jeffrey writes:

Now the great fallacy here is, that the increase of weight on the side of the people consists chiefly in an increase in intelligence, spirit, and activity, and the mere wealth and influence of a selfish kind can never be either safely or properly set against this sort of power and authority. . . . The natural result of such an increase of popular power is to give more direct efficiency to their agency in the government, and the only way to prevent this change in the state of society from producing disorder, is to make more room for the people in the constitution, not to swell out the bloated bulk of the Crown.⁹

There were two main kinds of public opinion that Jeffrey had in mind, that of the masses, who in years of economic distress electrified the issues of the day with a novel and barely-understood type of urban terror; and that of the 'intelligent', that is well-informed, middle classes. In the case of the former, the Whig doctrine of 'resistance' had become too dangerous to be feasible; in the case of the latter, it did not apply.

At this stage in the controversy a new twist was given to the notion of an antagonism between Parliament and the people by the Westminster Radicals. In the early 1820s division lists were compiled, chiefly by the enterprising assiduity of Joseph Hume, and published in the newspapers with unprecedented frequency. They were numerous enough to afford a complete analysis of the voting in the House of Commons,¹⁰ and from them it quickly became apparent that the members for large or 'popular' constituencies—the English counties and greater towns—tended to be anti-ministerial, but were outnumbered by the members for small or 'close' boroughs, who were overwhelmingly ministerial.¹¹ 'Joseph Hume's lists', writes Lord Dudley, 'will therefore exhibit in the county members a majority of anti-ministerial votes, and it will be argued, by a rude inference which it is not easy to resist, that the government and constitution stand upon the support of the rotten boroughs against the real sense of the country.'¹² Seizing upon these division statistics, the Westminster Radicals interpreted them as the sign of a new kind of opinion inimical to both the Whig and Tory

⁸ Lord Cockburn, *Life of Jeffrey*, ii. 189. Jeffrey to C. Wilkes, 24 Aug. 1819.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 171. Jeffrey to John Allen, 27 Mar. 1817.

¹⁰ The earliest analyses of this type were: *The Elector's Remembrancer* (1822); *An Alphabetical List of the Members of the Commons . . .* (1823); and *An Illustration of the Votes on 50 Great Questions . . .* (1823).

¹¹ *Hansard*, 2 ser. vii. 71 (25 Apr. 1822), where Russell uses figures from the *Electors' Remembrancer* to show that, of members for English boroughs, 'the proportion in favour of ministers diminished, as the size of the places increased'. The following year one finds *The Times* drawing the same conclusion by comparing members' voting with the census returns for their constituencies: 'The influence of ministers is in inverse ratio to the size of the boroughs.' *Times*, 12 Apr. 1823.

¹² Hatherton MSS., 'Correspondence 1817-25', Lord Dudley to E. J. Littleton, 27 July 1823.

parties. The first intimations of this interpretation appear in such Radical literature as the *Elector's Remembrancer* (1822) and the *Black Book Supplement* (1823).¹³ It was given systematic form by James Mill in the *Westminster Review* of 1824.¹⁴ Mill saw the conflict between Parliament and the people in terms of a class struggle.¹⁵ The Whig and Tory parties, those 'sparrers in double-padded gloves' as Cobbett called them, were merely two factions of one class, the aristocracy, the most efficient part of which was 'that small number of leading families, probably not two hundred in all, which return a majority of the members of the House of Commons'.¹⁶ In his article on 'Government' Mill had already suggested that the aristocracy would have reduced the English people to the condition of the slaves on their West Indian plantations had they not been held in check by popular opinion, operating 'partly by contagion, partly by conviction, partly by intimidation'.¹⁷ For him the Radical propensities of members for large constituencies represented the advent of 'that intelligent, that virtuous rank', the middle class, newly enlightened as to its own economic self-interest.

From these views about the nature of public opinion in the pre-reform era there emerges in later historiography a general interpretation which runs somewhat as follows:

1. That Parliament was dominated by an aristocratic class wielding the patronage and influence of the Crown and governing the country in its own interests.¹⁸
2. That Parliament was consequently out of touch with and unresponsive to public opinion.¹⁹
3. That nevertheless public opinion, 'educated by virile journalists, the ablest of whom were advocates of parliamentary reform', became much more powerful and articulate through the development of the newspaper press and other means of communication.²⁰
4. That it was this contrast between a repressive Parliament and an assertive public that produced, especially in years of want, those dangerous and convulsive agitations which are a special feature of the period.²¹
5. That this unsatisfactory situation was only resolved by the passing

¹³ *Elector's Remembrancer*, No. 1, p. 3: 'The public were long ago sick of the selfish tactics of the old opposition . . .' Also *Black Book Supplement*, i. 197: 'As the old game of party warfare is deceased, one may look back and laugh at its manœuvres, and . . . smile at the grossness of the imposture by which the multitude has been deceived.'

¹⁴ *Westminster Review*, i. 206–49.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 216, where Mill distinguishes between the motives of individuals, and 'those motives which act upon the [ruling] class as a class, and by which, as a class, they must be governed'.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

¹⁷ The Article *Government*, reprinted from the *Supplement to Encyclopaedia Britannica*, p. 11.

¹⁸ J. L. and B. Hammond, *The Town Labourer*, p. 321. Also pp. 198–211.

¹⁹ G. S. Veitch, *Genesis of Parliamentary Reform*, Introduction by Ramsay Muir, p. v: ' . . . especially true in the pre-democratic age, that the most powerful and significant movements in the national life are but tardily and ineffectively echoed in Parliament . . . '

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 351.

²¹ J. R. M. Butler, *The Passing of the Great Reform Bill*, p. 137: 'The long muddle of the poor laws and the corn laws, the excessive national debt, and the scandals of the pension list, were

of the Reform Act of 1832 and subsequent legislative and administrative reforms.

Now this kind of interpretation is far from satisfactory. The assumed dichotomy between Parliament and outside opinion does not stand up to close inspection. If any lesson is to be drawn from the impressive changes in the internal functioning of the Commons between 1770 and 1820—the emergence of full-scale reporting of the debates, the extension of select committees to cover every field of enquiry, the vast increase and proliferation of parliamentary business, and the adaptation of procedure to accommodate an intensified and more popular kind of party warfare—that lesson is surely that the House had subtle and organic links with the community, and could readily adapt itself to changes outside. Even the popular agitations of the time, which seem to suggest an antagonism between Parliament and the people, were dependent, to a degree that has never been equalled since, upon the enormous publicity that the debates then received in the daily newspapers.²² Moreover, if one surveys the agitations as a whole, the balance of their subjects and the extent to which they succeeded in their objectives do not suggest that economic or class motives were at all prominent in the most popular movements, or that these movements were distinguished by a mood of exasperation or sense of failure. Some of the greatest agitations were dominated by religious organizations, and these did not fail, but achieved a series of triumphs, from the abolition of the slave trade to the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts and Catholic Emancipation. And while measures that affected the vital interests of the working classes, such as the modification of the Corn Laws or the enactment and repeal of the Combination Acts, passed without much disturbance or even attention, emotional issues such as the rights of Queen Caroline created paroxysms that shook the foundations of society. It is true enough that in certain years of great hardship, such as 1817 or 1819, the working classes developed their own movement with a distinct literature and with class objectives. But surely the lesson of those years is that they were fatally handicapped by lack of sound leaders, sound economic theory, and above all by lack of persistence or solidarity. Finally, there was clearly a progression in both the scale and the power of popular agitations in this period, culminating in the final gigantic reform agitation: and there was at the same time a steady decline in the influence of the Crown and the means by which ministers controlled the House of Commons. It is often overlooked that the obstacle to many great reforms, such as Catholic

inseparably connected with aristocratic rule, and identified it with selfishness and corruption. . . . Most fortunately . . . the chasm between the masters of physical and political power was bridged by the rich and strenuous middle class: their absorption in the electorate restored the legislature to a position of stability. Otherwise the forces of privilege and brute strength must have clashed in disastrous war.'

²² There is an interesting commentary upon the paramount importance of the debates in the political literature of the time in the *Edinburgh Review*, lxxviii (June 1826), pp. 459–64. At that time they were 'read by all who ever read anything'.

Emancipation or the Reform Bill itself, was not the House of Commons, which accepted both of these measures, but the Crown and the House of Lords.

A more sophisticated conception of the character of public opinion at this time is therefore necessary. It is not enough to regard it as a crude instrument of intimidation as the Whigs tended to do, or on the other hand to suggest with James Mill or Francis Place that its remarkable progress was only the result of the self-generating powers of reason fed with knowledge. A truer picture could only be built up from a variety of studies in social and political history, local and national, of the period. In the absence of such studies one can only hazard a few suggestions as to the nature of the transformation that in George III's long reign created not only the modern notion of public opinion,²³ but also the institutions and means without which such a notion could not exist. This transformation may be roughly described as commencing with a state of politics in which taxation and local affairs were the chief concerns of the constituencies, and national issues impinged on the public only at rare conjunctures; and in which parliamentary opinion reflected the interests of corporations, religious denominations, economic bodies, and all the fixed and settled adjustments of a society whose spirit was traditional and static: and ending in a state in which, in an atmosphere of conscious change and improvement, dynamic legislative policies, discussed in the light of new sciences and speculative principles, became for the first time an important element in politics, and in which public opinion continuously and over a wide range of policies exerted pressure on the House of Commons. The agencies of this great change are easier to describe than the change itself. Possibly the most important among them was the system of petitioning Parliament that grew up in this period. This system came to involve public meetings on a national scale, the collaboration of parliamentary leaders with outside bodies of opinion, and the use of the platform, in close co-operation with debates in Parliament, as a means of propaganda.

* * *

In the eighteenth century the only really legitimate form of public meeting at which any alteration in church or state could be considered was a county meeting convened by the gentry, or in London a meeting of the Common Council. Only such meetings could legally petition the King or either House of Parliament with more than twenty signatures in favour of political change. Such were the terms of a Restoration statute still in force,²⁴ which the clauses in the Bill of Rights upholding

²³ Although one finds David Hume or Burke using the terms 'opinion' and 'public opinion' in a sense approximating to the modern one, they tended to do so pejoratively, to indicate the sentiments, prejudices, foibles and national character of the people. It is only after 1815 that the optimistic conception of opinion as an informed, initiating, progressive and scientific entity gains acceptance, and that the term 'public opinion' itself becomes a set phrase to denote this.

²⁴ 13 Car. II c. 5.

the right of petitioning had done nothing to modify. The Restoration statute justified itself in its preamble by declaring that the 'tumultuous and other disorderly soliciting and procuring of hands by private persons to petitions . . . have been a great means of the late unhappy wars, confusions and calamities'. The prohibition operated as an effective check on all political petitioning far into the eighteenth century. What few cases there were—and they can be counted on one hand—afford examples of the severity with which Parliament treated any interference in its affairs. In 1701, for instance, when the county of Kent, having abided by the letter of the law in every detail of its process, petitioned the Tory Commons to 'turn their loyal addresses into bills of supply', their representatives were thrown into prison for the session.²⁵ Thus while there were innumerable private petitions to Parliament (representing the grievances of every kind of individual person or institution) in the century before 1779, one has to search hard to find anything resembling political petitioning, and when one does there is always some special justification. In the case of the petitions against the Septennial Bill, the petitioners could claim that they were defending their basic constitutional rights, while the petitioners against the Cider Tax were similarly defending the sanctity of their homes, and also speaking for their trade after the manner of private bill petitions. They spoke as parties before a court: they were not presuming to teach the senators wisdom.

The breakdown of this prohibition on public petitioning began with the petition of Middlesex in 1769, an example followed by other counties, praying the King to dissolve Parliament and so confirm Wilkes' election as member for Middlesex. These petitions contained a whole catalogue of the unconstitutional acts of George III's ministers, but they were presented to the King, not to Parliament, and it was not possible for the Commons to imprison the sponsors. All that true Tories, from Dr. Johnson to Lord North himself, could do was to belittle the consequence of the signatories. In refusing an enquiry into their grievances, Lord North protested:

Shall the annual supply be withheld? shall every purpose of Government be suspended? shall the public creditors be unpaid, and the army and navy want clothes and bread, because the drunken and the ignorant have been made dupes to the crafty and the factious, signed papers that they have never read, and determined questions that they do not know; roared against oppression and tyranny, with licentiousness that makes liberty blush, and staggered home with impunity, swearing that they were in danger of slavery, while every one they met who did not join in their cry was in danger of a broken head?²⁶

But events were soon to establish the respectability of petitioning. The Wilkites were instrumental in defeating the ban on the day-to-day

²⁵ *Somers Tracts*, xi. 244 seq.: 'History of the Kentish Petition'.

²⁶ *Cobb[ett's] Par[liamentary] Hist[ory]*, xvi. 759, quoted in Jephson, *The Platform*, i. 68.

reporting of parliamentary debates, and in heightening public interest in parliamentary proceedings. After the revolt of the American colonies and the unfortunate course of the war had aroused strong opposition to Lord North's ministry, men 'of the first consideration and property' lent themselves to the Yorkshire petition for economical reform and to Wyvill's petitioning movement. Wyvill claimed to be independent of party; and his followers addressed themselves directly to the House of Commons. The petitions of 1779-80, Erskine May observes, were 'the origin of the modern system of petitioning, by which public measures, and matters of general policy, have been pressed upon the attention of Parliament'.²⁷ In some respects Wyvill followed traditional ways. He believed in county meetings convened by the aristocracy and gentry. And if the language of Sir George Savile in presenting the Yorkshire petition may have impressed some minds as being no less intimidating than that with which Fleetwood or Ireton had addressed the Rump in 1652,²⁸ they should have been reassured by his final boast, in flinging the petition down on the table—that it was subscribed to in a hall whose walls enclosed a more propertied gathering than that within St. Stephen's itself.²⁹ Moreover, the constitutional ground of the Yorkshire petitioners was conservatively chosen. They claimed that the balance of the constitution had been disturbed, and that therefore their representatives could not adequately safeguard their interests in matters of taxation. Nevertheless, in some fundamental respects the movement broke new ground. Middlesex and twenty-three other English counties, and eleven of the largest towns and cities, sent petitions to Parliament in a concerted campaign. In some cases, where the sheriff refused to call a county meeting, groups of gentry did so on their own authority. An impetus to the movement was provided by the committees of correspondence named at most of the meetings to follow up the petitions. The legality of these committees, and even of the meetings, was challenged. At Huntingdon, for example, a Mr. Brown declared the movement to be 'illegal if not criminal; he said the Parliament alone have a right to enquire into the expenditure of public moneys'.³⁰ Many doubters, however, were persuaded to overlook these objections by their desire to overthrow the ministry and by the fact that the delinquents were propertied gentry.

After this time the right of meeting for the discussion of political objects was tacitly allowed, and political meetings became progressively more frequent until they were checked during the period of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. The repressive measures of 1795 in

²⁷ T. Erskine May, *Constitutional History of England*, i. 350.

²⁸ Sir N. W. Wraxall, *Historical Memoirs*, iii. 292.

²⁹ Cobb. Par. Hist., xx. 1376. 8 Feb. 1780.

³⁰ *The Remembrancer*, 1780, Part 1, p. 124. As late as 1797 the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (3rd edn.) maintained that petitions to the king, and by implication also to Parliament, should not contain anything 'which may be interpreted to reflect on the Administration', or which might 'frighten him into a change of measures' by suggesting that otherwise many of his subjects would be discontented.

fact confirmed the right of public meetings to petition Parliament. 'No one would venture to deny the right of the people to express their opinions on political men and measures,' said Pitt on announcing the government's proposals, 'and to discuss and assert their right of petitioning all branches of the legislature . . . a most valuable privilege, of which nothing should deprive them.'³¹ But those who had recently assembled at Sheffield, Wakefield or Chalk Farm 'did not say they would petition Parliament', the Attorney General argued, 'but called their legislators their plunderers, their enemies and oppressors'.³² Two bills were introduced, the first extending the law of treason to cover words openly and advisedly spoken, and requiring lectures given on political subjects for money to be licensed by two magistrates, a requirement, the ministerial paper pointed out, 'not so strong as play-house licensing'.³³ The other bill followed the established practice in allowing county meetings called by the Lord Lieutenant, Custos Rotularum or sheriff, or by two justices of the peace, or by the major part of the grand jury: and also meetings in cities called by the Mayor, or in wards of cities by an alderman. Otherwise all meetings of over fifty persons were required to give five days' notice in a newspaper or by letter to the Clerk of the Peace, and they could be dispersed by a magistrate if any speaker advocated any alteration of the law except by constitutional means.³⁴ Pitt explained that his intention was to ensure that all meetings were convened by public notice, and that those called by private persons should be subject to the same supervision by a magistrate as had always been implied by the form of county meetings.³⁵ This act was followed by a period of fifteen or twenty years in which political petitioning almost fell into abeyance, though its terms did not forbid it, and in any case the act lapsed after three years and was not renewed. The country had been shocked by the republican and levelling doctrines of the Jacobin Clubs and corresponding societies. When Fox, acting up to his dictum that 'Middlesex and Yorkshire between them make all England', attempted to rouse these counties against the ministry, Middlesex, Westminster and the City responded to the lead of the Whig Club, but in Yorkshire Wilberforce succeeded in defeating the Whigs, and Wyvill was obliged to admit that he might 'have formed an erroneous estimate of the sentiments of this county'.³⁶

There is much to indicate that the restraint upon all forms of political agitation between 1795 and 1820, applied generally with success except in the case of Westminster and the industrial towns, and imposed by opinion rather than by law, sprang from a middle-class fear of social disorder. Wyvill had seen that this fear was the key to their opinions

³¹ Cobb. *Par. Hist.*, xxxii, 274-5. 10 Nov. 1795.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 370.

³³ *The Sun* newspaper, 23 Nov. 1795, editorial.

³⁴ 36 Geo. III, c. 8.

³⁵ Cobb. *Par. Hist.*, xxxii, 361. 17 Nov. 1795. Cf. report in *Sun* newspaper of the 18th.

³⁶ Rev. G. Wyvill, *Political Papers*, v. 308. Wyvill to Wilberforce, 3 Dec. 1795, and note.

before the struggle over Pitt's bills. Writing to Philip Francis in January 1795, he observes that reform needed the support

... not of that class at the lower end of society, many of whom wish for Universal Suffrage only to abuse it, but of those middle classes, who have had some education, who have some property and some character to preserve, and who probably would prefer some limitation of the Right of Suffrage, as more friendly to peace, to order, and even to rational liberty.³⁷

The middle classes might lack confidence in Parliament, but they would only subscribe to the dangerous experiment of reforming it 'from the immediate pressure of calamity'. This conservatism did not prevent them from participating with increasing confidence in public affairs, and by 1815 they had become the dominant element in politics. In the cities they began to hold petitioning meetings impressive alike for numbers and for 'respectability'. In 1816 for instance they successfully defeated the government's proposal to retain the wartime income tax, holding in Edinburgh 'the first respectable meeting . . . within the memory of man, for the avowed purpose of controlling the government on a political matter',³⁸ and at the London Guildhall a gathering of unprecedented wealth and splendour. Even in the counties they were challenging the political monopoly of the gentry, and the 'extra-legal county oligarchy' which in the high eighteenth century had fixed wages, created extra-statutory penalties, and promoted special county legislation by way of private bills.³⁹ Individual parishes began to pass resolutions and to petition on matters of national politics. 'Organized parish meetings of this kind', observe the Webbs, 'regarded themselves, especially between 1815 and 1832, as the channels for the voice of the people, not merely to deal with local affairs, but also to exercise influence on the counsels of the nation. We find such vestries passing long and argumentative resolutions on the political issues of the day.'⁴⁰

The political supremacy that the middle classes had achieved is dramatically illustrated by the contrast between the working-class reform meetings of 1817 and 1819, which were ineffectual, and those supported by the middle classes in the years 1820–1823, which had an enormous impact. Before 1819 middle-class hostility neutralized the efforts of the radical reformers, who had very little sway over educated opinion. The *Examiner* scouted the demagogic of Henry Hunt and Cobbett, and *The Times*, commenting upon a working-class reform meeting near Leeds in June 1819, asked rhetorically: 'The virtuous, sober and religious people of England will not let wretches like these legislate for them?'⁴¹ Yet both these newspapers espoused the cause of

³⁷ Rev. C. Wyvill, *Political Papers*, v. 262. Wyvill to Francis, 7 Jan. 1795.

³⁸ Henry Cockburn, *Memorials*, p. 302. Of a later meeting of 16 Dec. 1820 to petition for reform, Cockburn comments: 'They seemed to be mostly of the middle class of citizens. My coat was said to be the worst there,' p. 376.

³⁹ S. and B. Webb, *English Local Government*, i. 533 seq., 550.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁴¹ *Times*, 19 June 1819.

moderate reform a year or two later. Two events in particular helped to bring about the conversion of the middle classes—Peterloo, and the prosecution of Queen Caroline in the following year. These events produced a crescendo of alarm and disorder, and when the Whigs turned their back on reform and supported the repressive 'Six Acts', it appeared that the governing class was incapable of preserving tranquillity. Sir Robert Wilson put this point of view to Lord Grey:

Reasonable reform is inseparable from the Manchester question. Do not credit those who tell you the community are indifferent about reform. I know the contrary is the prevailing opinion amongst all the disinterested men who wish the Whigs well. I have not a single letter which does not allude to that subject and designate you as the man and this as the time to do homage again to the principle and thus save the country.⁴²

Grey, however, doubted whether the desire for reform had 'so increased, especially 'amongst those whose influence will always be greatest on such questions'⁴³—a judgement soon to be disproved. For the great underswell of popular discontent had begun to terrify the propertied classes. 'What a frightful progress the general discontent has made, in the short time between 1817 and 1820!' comments the *Edinburgh Review* in November 1820, and even as it went to press the 'fatal policy of prosecuting the Queen' raised a storm that prevented Parliament from meeting,⁴⁴ and spread the ferment to 'the lowliest villages—to the quietest provinces—to districts where the sound of our political divisions had never before penetrated'.⁴⁵ After this convulsion the cause of moderate reform swept the middle class. Even the arch-Tory Croker found that at tables 'where ten years ago you would have no more heard reform advocated than treason, you will now find half the company reformers—moderate reformers, indeed, individually, but radical in the lump'.⁴⁶

With the removal of the long-standing and stubborn objection of the middle classes to reform, and their increasing participation in public meetings and petitioning, the politics of the 1820s assumed a character that was as liberal and popular as that of the decades after the Reform Act. This character was not of course truly democratic before 1832 any more than later in the time of the Chartist. But it was potentially democratic—it had acquired many of the assumptions of democracy. Anyone who doubts this should read the accounts of the county meetings held between 1821 and 1823, to petition for the 'relief of the agricultural interest'. Admittedly the low price of corn had created an

⁴² B.M. Add. MS. 30,123, ff. 79–82. Wilson to Grey, 5 Oct. 1819.

⁴³ S. J. Reid, *Life of Durham*, i. 129. Grey to Lambton, 3 Jan. 1820.

⁴⁴ B.M. Add. MS. 38,742, f. 135. Arbuthnot to Huskisson, 17 Nov. 1820: 'The King was wild to have Parliament meet on the 23rd for the purpose of settling the Queen's Provision at once. The ministers on the other hand felt it would be insanity to meet in the present fever of the public mind.'

⁴⁵ *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxxiv. 464 and note.

⁴⁶ *Croker Papers*, ii. 52. Croker to Peel, 1 Feb. 1822.

identity of interest between the gentry, farmers and freeholders. Still, the meetings were no longer the docile instruments of the gentry. It had become established that the assemblies, which were not restricted to freeholders, could control the proceedings, if necessary by introducing amendments, or, should the conveners not accept these, by requisitioning for another meeting. In this way many of them petitioned for reform, a result that their promoters had neither foreseen nor approved. The county members of Parliament usually attended, and were expected to give an account of their reasons for voting in particular divisions.⁴⁷ The meetings were free to survey the whole proceedings of Parliament, and their petitions went into the details of taxation and expenditure as well as of other legislation. Some of the meetings were captured by the radical demagogues Hunt and Cobbett, who were wont to turn up where they felt they might be favourably received. At the Norfolk meeting of 3 January 1823, after the county member, Wodehouse, had been greeted with 'shouts of laughter and derision', Cobbett carried the adoption of his own reform petition, with a resolution that it should be signed by the sheriff and presented by the county members.⁴⁸ At the Somerset meeting of 28 January 1823, Lethbridge, member for the county, had undertaken to 'go along with Lord John Russell's view ... of reform', when Hunt got up, and dismissing Russell as a 'humbug', offered them 'the real thing'. His amendment was adopted, and when the sheriff refused to put his signature to the decision of the meeting, a vote of censure on him was passed.⁴⁹ At most of the meetings, however, the moderate reformers prevailed, and Cobbett if he appeared was liable to be attacked and defeated as a mountebank.⁵⁰ *The Times* had been careful to point out the difference between Cobbett's radicalism—or 'jacobinism' as it preferred to call it—and the middle-class variety. At this time a middle-class journal with by far the largest circulation of all newspapers, *The Times* had in 1822 come round to the view that 'moderate reform' would be 'the surest refuge from Jacobinism, which all men see is making such rapid strides'.⁵¹ When Cobbett spoke at a public dinner held after the Sussex meeting of January 1822 had dispersed, *The Times* observed that these people 'were of an humbler cast than those who acted at the meeting'. The next week *The Times* described the Norfolk meeting as 'conducted with dignity and decorum: there was no old Cobbett ... with Tom Paine's carcass on his back, to shame the assembly, and drive away decent people'.⁵² The cause of moderate reform was really antithetical in its

⁴⁷ *Examiner*, 20 Jan. 1822, p. 38, reporting the Norfolk county meeting of 12th Jan., records this question: ' "I ask you whether, though you voted against the malt duties, you did not vote for the establishments which these malt duties were to support? This was a deception; and so I tell you to your face. If when our representatives come and beard us, we are not allowed to catechise them as to their conduct, we have nothing to do but quietly bend our necks to the yoke." (immense applause).'

⁴⁸ *Examiner*, 5 Jan. 1823, p. 17.

⁴⁹ *Times*, 30 Jan. 1823.

⁵⁰ See, e.g., *Examiner* of Jan. 1823, p. 67, reporting Hereford meeting of 17th Jan.

⁵¹ *Times*, 22 Apr. 1822.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 12 and 15 Jan. 1822.

aims to that of radicalism. It wanted political stability, not democracy, and hence it was not prepared to push things to extremities. This diffidence on the part of the moderate reformers has led historians to identify the reform movement with radicalism, and thence to argue that, since the people ultimately opted for reform after the radicals had made no impression on the pre-reform House of Commons, public opinion was therefore impotent to control the unreformed House. In reality, the Commons responded effectively to articulate opinion out of doors; and that opinion mirrored accurately the social pre-eminence of the middle classes.

* * *

The development of popular meetings to petition Parliament on public affairs, however, did not take place entirely spontaneously. On the contrary, it was promoted by Parliament itself, and indeed it is impossible to disentangle the trend of things out-of-doors from parallel developments in parliamentary and party practices. Before 1779 Parliament hardly ever received, and never debated, petitions from the public upon state affairs. By 1829 things had so changed that both Houses did little else.⁵³ Its whole time would have been so consumed if in 1831 the House of Commons had not severely restricted—soon after entirely to abolish—debates upon public petitions. No doubt the thousands of petitions that came up from every kind of meeting reflected a new and more widespread political awareness in the country. But they also formed part of, and were powerfully promoted by, a new technique of parliamentary agitation.

Originally, as has been observed, all petitions to the House of Commons were deemed to be in essence private. The petitioners spoke for themselves and their own interests, as before a court, and they were still liable to be called to the bar and examined by counsel while the House sat in committee.⁵⁴ Even after the idea of 'public' as opposed to private petitions had been established, no debate was allowed on their presentation, though they could be brought up and read before a motion germane to them was debated. Even so, the printing of petitions in the reports of the debates in the daily press was welcome publicity, and the early public petitions were couched in defiant terms that were clearly addressed to a wider body than the House itself. Sometimes this external appeal was so blatant that an angry debate would arise on the question whether the petition be received.⁵⁵ So much the better for publicity. One sees these considerations baldly acknowledged in Francis

⁵³ William Wickens, *An Argument for more of the Division of Labour . . .* (1829), pp. 9–15, for a concise account of the increase in public petitions. Wickens observes that 'it is mainly in an attention to petitions, that the parliamentary session which is at this moment in progress has passed away'.

⁵⁴ As, for instance, during the enquiry into the Orders in Council in 1812.

⁵⁵ See, e.g., *Cobb. Par. Hist.*, xxx. 460 seq., discussion on the Nottingham petition, 21 Feb. 1793.

Place's comment upon the Westminster petition of 1811 against the imprisonment of Burdett:

It was a matter of indifference to a large body of the electors what the House did with the petition. Care was taken to use no word called unparliamentary, . . . but it was in other respects made as offensive to the dignity of the House as possible. Many wished the House to reject it, as then another meeting would be held. What was most desired was a wrangle in the House. Everybody knew that so far as the House was alone concerned it was useless to petition it. . . . But the House was the best vehicle through or by which the people could be addressed, and a wrangle in the House when reported in the newspapers was sure to fix the attention of the people on our proceedings.⁵⁶

Even the 'saints', as Wilberforce and his cross-benchers were called, were aware of these advantages, and we find Wilberforce asking his friends to 'stir up petitions', with the observation that 'in parliamentary measures of importance, more is to be done out of the House than in it'.⁵⁷ By this means the network of Nonconformity was enlisted in the anti-slavery movement.

As public petitions came to be presented in ever-increasing numbers, it was found that they had another great advantage. By convention there was only one debate upon each contentious question raised by the opposition in any session. The same motion could not be introduced twice, and adjourned debates were rare. But petitions, provided one had enough of them, could be presented in batches on successive evenings before the commencement of public business, and although debates on their substance were not allowed, the practice nevertheless grew up of holding desultory discussions which were very similar to such debates though ostensibly concerned with the respectability or otherwise of the petitioners, or some such permissible technicality.⁵⁸ Once this had happened, the way was open for the full exploitation of petitions by what Brougham styled the 'method of petition and debate'.⁵⁹ Petitioning meetings could be arranged in January just before the commencement of the session, so that their speeches should appear in the newspapers in the space later devoted to the parliamentary debates. Then early in the new session the petitions would be presented in both the Commons and the House of Lords over a period of two or three weeks prior to the final debate and division, and the prolonged publicity would encourage numerous smaller meetings and petitions on the model of the earlier ones. The cumulative effect of this kind of agitation was enormous, chiefly on the public, but through the public also on members of Parliament, who were obliged to present the petitions and commit themselves in public and in the House before the final division. By

⁵⁶ B.M. Add. MS. 27,850, p. 218, partly quoted in Jephson, *op. cit.*, i. 339.

⁵⁷ R. I. and S. Wilberforce, *Life of Wilberforce*, iv. 103, 112.

⁵⁸ There were four motions upon which discussion could arise: that the petition be brought up, that it be received, that it lie on the table, and that it be printed.

⁵⁹ *Life and Times of Lord Brougham* by himself, ii. 313.

these means Brougham defeated the Orders in Council in 1812, and the 'Property' (i.e. income) tax in 1816. During the latter agitation he gained the initiative and appeared to have driven ministers from the House:

Were they really ill, or was their indisposition an indisposition to come down to the House? Perhaps they were sick of the property tax. . . . Unquestionably there had been two or three hours every evening for some days past in which the air of that House could not have been very salutary to persons in the state in which his majesty's government were; and no doubt their symptoms had been much aggravated by the numerous little speeches which had been made, even by those . . . who had been most tenaciously their friends.⁶⁰

A notable feature of Brougham's victory of 1816 was that he won from the ministry a recognition that the vote in question should be postponed to allow time for meetings to be held and petitions to come in. This was tantamount to recognizing the revolutionary principle that the public had a right to intervene in the deliberations of the Commons. The precedent was followed.⁶¹ During the final agitation over Catholic disabilities in 1829 one finds a member suggesting that there should be an official analysis of the very numerous petitions on either side of the controversy, 'so as to enable the House to collect, as from a balance sheet, the real sentiments of the nation upon this very important subject'. Against this it was argued that mere numbers were not 'a proper criterion of the sense of the country', but no one repelled the implication that the House should take notice of outside pressure.⁶²

The effectiveness of the means of agitation that have been described may be measured by the scale of the final agitation for the Reform Bill itself. This was only the greatest of a series of massive petitioning movements: and by an irony of history it was the last to enjoy the facilities upon which these great movements depended. The game had been overplayed, and it had become common to despise the signatories and insinuate that they included paupers, prisoners, dependents, servants, women, or minors. The exploitation of petitions for party purposes encouraged many questionable devices for multiplying signatures, and the factitious element in their promotion through religious and trade organizations, Pitt clubs, parish meetings and the like, was all too apparent. The interminable discussions that they occasioned became an insufferable nuisance in the Commons during the sessions of 1829 and 1830.⁶³ And so in 1831 the Whig ministry, by agreement with the other side, restricted the presentation of petitions to the time before five

⁶⁰ *Hansard*, 1 ser. xxxii. 1045. 1 Mar. 1816.

⁶¹ Lord John Russell, for instance, agreed that all petitions relating to reform should be presented before the introduction of the Reform Bill in Feb. 1831. *Hansard*, 3 ser. ii. 1030-1.

⁶² *Hansard*, 2 ser. xx. 597 seq. 26 Feb. 1829.

⁶³ Sir Robert Heron, *Notes*, p. 183, complains (June 1830) of members who waste the time of the House 'day after day till eight, nine, or even ten o'clock, in foolish speeches on petitions, often without any general importance'.

o'clock and after the public business, and to Saturdays.⁶⁴ After a series of unsatisfactory expedients in the next two or three sessions, it was finally arranged, by a general understanding between both sides of the House, that no discussion whatever should accompany the presentation of the petitions, which were simply handed in so that they should appear on the official analysis, and possibly be printed.⁶⁵

This destroyed the chief advantage of petitioning. The reform was criticized by the *Edinburgh Review* as 'most reprehensible and wholly unconstitutional', since it precluded 'all that discussion to which must be ascribed every success gained for the people against their adversaries in times far less auspicious to popular rights'.⁶⁶ Undoubtedly the step severed one of the most vital links between Parliament and the people. By some it was seen as a reversion to an older and sounder doctrine. The young Tory, Gladstone, notes this conversation with the Speaker:

I complimented the Speaker yesterday on the time he had saved by putting an end to discussions upon the presentation of petitions. He replied that there was a more important advantage; that these discussions very greatly increased the influence of popular feeling upon the deliberations of the House; . . . His maxim was to shut out as far as might be all extrinsic pressure, and then to do what was right within doors.⁶⁷

Even the apologists for the measure recognized the magnitude of its consequences. Erskine May claimed, however, that a reformed Parliament, fully representative of the people, could rightly take this step.⁶⁸ Brougham, while admitting that it had been a matter of 'great regret to all leaders of the popular party', declared that he came to accept it after 'a consideration of the consequences which must follow in a reformed Parliament from unlimited discussion'.⁶⁹ Such cloudy reasonings obscured the real issue, which was simply that petitions had come to make demands on the time of the House that were incompatible with the claims of any government, reformed or otherwise. But the suggestion that the Reform Act was an equivalent for the loss of the chief means of popular agitation is far from convincing. Future popular movements, such as Chartism, were doomed to impotence within Parliament, and even the Anti-Corn Law agitation, which might have swept the middle-class electorate if it had been able to address them through Parliament, was hamstrung by the paucity of parliamentary attention it received. With the closing of the main channel along which the immediate demands of the people were brought to bear on the Commons, general interest in parliamentary proceedings and debates

⁶⁴ *Hansard*, 3 ser. ii. 782, 914-15. A similar proposal had been made in 1829, but was negatived. *Hansard*, 2 ser. xxi. 1531.

⁶⁵ For some particulars of these changes, and for a study of petitioning later in the century, see Colin Leys, 'Petitioning in the 19th and 20th Centuries', in *Political Studies*, iii (1955), 45-64.

⁶⁶ *Edinburgh Review*, vol. lxvi (1837), 215.

⁶⁷ J. Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, i. 150. Gladstone's diary, 18 July 1838.

⁶⁸ T. E. May, *Const. Hist.*, i. 355.

⁶⁹ *Life and Times of Lord Brougham*, ii. 313.

declined, and for several decades there was no substitute, such as the great platform campaigns of parliamentary leaders in the latter part of the nineteenth century, to take its place. Admittedly the principle of direct popular pressure on Parliament implicit in the pre-reform 'method of petition and debate' was dangerous and unwieldy, and could not have been preserved for long after 1830. But historians should acknowledge that in its age it served to make the unreformed House of Commons more responsive to popular demands than is usually allowed.

HITLER'S WAR?

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THE MERE CHRONICLER of events is no historian. History consists not simply in the setting down of facts, but in their interpretation and in the establishment of relationships among them. Since the experience of every historical interpreter is unique, the same facts will give rise to varying interpretations, and this is more certain to be so when the facts at issue relate to the psychology and motivation of a human individual, for neither the actor nor his observer can ever be fully conscious of all the streams that mingle together to form the river of his behaviour. The verisimilitude of a particular interpretation will depend on the accuracy of the facts presented, on the extent to which available and relevant evidence is used or misused, and on the internal consistency of the theme and of the reasoning by which the theme is supported. Mr. A. J. P. Taylor's *THE ORIGINS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR*¹ is full of inaccuracies or mis-statements of one kind or another and of varying degrees of importance, its use of evidence is occasionally selective and more frequently tendentious, it contains many internal inconsistencies and contradictions, and to the informed reader the interpretation which it offers accordingly carries no conviction whatsoever. But it is so seductively written and so brilliantly argued that the inexpert reader can hardly avoid taking the view that so clever a fellow must be right, and it is therefore of importance to show that he is in fact very wrong.

The peace of Brest Litovsk was signed in January 1918 (p. 20). The Bolsheviks implicitly confessed indifference to the rest of the world when they went over to 'Socialism in a single country' (p. 36). The only economic effect of reparations was to give employment to a large number of book-keepers (p. 44). In 1929 Germany was disarmed (p. 61). The Chinese reconciled themselves to the loss of Manchuria (p. 64). The discussions at the London Naval Conference first provoked Italy into demanding naval equality with France (p. 65). After 1933 and before 1937 Japan was at peace with China (p. 78). In 1934 Mussolini decided to conquer Abyssinia (p. 88). Hoare took the Hoare-Laval plan to Paris (p. 94). Roosevelt's proposal at the beginning of 1938 was for a great international conference to discuss every imaginable grievance (p. 144). The demand for Slovak autonomy provided a grumbling undercurrent throughout the twenty years of Czechoslovak history (p. 201). Every one of these statements is wrong, and there are others of a similar nature.

¹ London: Hamish Hamilton, 1961. 296 pp. 25s.

Inaccuracies of the kind quoted above, however, are peripheral to Taylor's main argument, even though they create doubts about his reliability. More important in assessing the credibility of his analysis of the origins of the war are mis-statements about Hitler and Germany's foreign relations. The idea of destroying Austria, he says, probably did not even enter Hitler's mind (p. 109), but in the first paragraph of *Mein Kampf* the reunion of Austria and Germany is seen as '*eine mit allen Mitteln durchzuführende Lebensaufgabe*'.² We are told that no plan for the annexation of Memel can be found in the records (p. 209). But on 21 October 1938 Hitler ordered the *Wehrmacht* to be at all times prepared for three eventualities, of which the third was the occupation of Memelland.³ The argument that Germany should drive to war because the lead in armaments which Germany had established would gradually waste away, Hitler is alleged to have used 'only in the summer of 1939 when already committed to war'. This conflicts with the whole theme of Taylor's argument, that Hitler did not plan war, and that in 1939 'he became involved in war through launching on 29 August a diplomatic manœuvre which he ought to have launched on 28 August' (p. 278): it is moreover inexact, because he used the argument in the famous address taken down by Hossbach on 5 November 1937.⁴ The Anglo-Polish alliance, it is said, was not signed until 26 August because neither party dared discuss Danzig for fear of a quarrel (p. 221), but the real reason for the delay is given by Taylor himself on page 270: 'Its conclusion had been held up during the negotiations with Soviet Russia; once these failed, there was no reason for further postponement'. On page 199 Taylor thinks that the Bonnet-Ribbentrop discussions were probably less precise and less sinister than the rumour that Bonnet 'renounced all French interest in Eastern Europe', but two pages later he is saying 'France had abandoned Eastern Europe'. I have nearly fifty examples of such mis-statements, misuse of evidence or omissions of relevant evidence (for example, the scorning of the value of *Mein Kampf* as evidence on page 69 and the use of *Mein Kampf* as evidence on page 82, the failure to use the Lagardelle correspondence on the Laval-Mussolini meeting of 7 January 1935, the failure to refer to the Anglo-French meeting on 3 March 1936, the failure to mention the secret protocol to the anti-Comintern pact, the failure to quote in terms the 23 May decision 'To attack Poland at the first suitable opportunity'⁵), but perhaps the illustrations I have given will be sufficient indication of the caution with which Taylor's factual details must be approached.

More serious, because more subtle, is the frequency with which Taylor uses ambiguity of language, illogical inference, half-truth combined with half-truth to produce total error, and beautifully constructed

² 'the task of a lifetime to be carried out with all possible means': quoted in E. Wiskemann, *The Rome-Berlin Axis*, p. 29.

³ *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, Series D, Vol. IV, p. 99.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Series D, Vol. I, p. 34.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Series D, Vol. VI, p. 576.

mansions of logic built on a single concealed and unsound premise. I can here give only six examples. (i) Hitler and Mussolini differed from other statesmen 'only in that their appetite was greater; and they fed it by more unscrupulous means' (p. 106). With equal truth might it be said that Al Capone differed from his fellow citizens only in that his appetite was greater and he fed it by more unscrupulous means. (ii) 'In the spring of 1938 Hitler did not see his way clearly' (p. 153). This is of course true in the sense that Hitler had not planned in detail exactly how he would accomplish his aim of the destruction of Czechoslovakia, but it is not true in the sense implied by the language and by the context in which it is set that he had no clear aim in view. (iii) After Beck's refusal on 26 March 1939 to yield over Danzig, 'Hitler, to ease things along as he supposed, allowed the German press to write, for the first time, about the German minority in Poland' (p. 210). This is a remarkable euphemism for the flood of vituperation which the state-directed newspapers of Germany turned off and on according to the orders of their Nazi masters. (iv) Hitler would be satisfied 'only if he received Danzig without conditions' (p. 220)—implying that in that case he would be satisfied. (v) Over Manchuria 'The Japanese had a good case' (p. 62), which is true, though only part of the truth; 'The League set up the Lytton commission, actually on Japanese initiative, to discover the facts about Manchuria' (p. 63), which is also true, though only part of the truth: but by putting the two half-truths together Taylor leaves the impression that the Japanese attack on Manchuria was reasonable, and the League's condemnation of it unreasonable, which is totally false. (vi) On pages 141-3 Taylor offers a long and skilfully developed argument designed to minimize the importance of the government changes of 4 February 1938 and the Berchtesgaden interview with Schuschnigg on 12 February, and it is not until one has carefully gone back over each step in the argument that one finds it all flows from the premise that Hitler 'shrank from revealing the breach' with Schacht who resigned on 8 December 1937—a statement for which no evidence is quoted and which is in no way consistent with the normal pattern of Hitler's behaviour.

From the foregoing it may be surmised that an adequate commentary on Taylor's book would extend to a book of similar length. Here I do not propose to do more than to take one subject, the Czech crisis of 1938, to illustrate the incompatibility of the interpretation which he offers or infers with the available evidence. Taylor's description of the crisis I understand to be as follows: Czechoslovakia was put on the agenda for action by her geographical position and her internal condition; the Sudeten Germans were stirred to 'ungovernable excitement' by the Austrian *Anschluss*; Hitler wished to liberate the Sudetens and hoped that by screwing up the tension something would give; Benes likewise wished to screw up the tension, hoping that Britain and France would thereby be forced to come to the aid of Czechoslovakia; the

British brought the tension to a head, for they could not wait for the crisis to mature lest they should find themselves joining the French in war; Chamberlain did not doubt Britain's strength, but believed Hitler could be won for peace, and war should not therefore be fought for such a wrong object as preserving the non-national state of Czechoslovakia; the French feared war, and were for this reason susceptible to Chamberlain's pressure; Hitler therefore could wait with his characteristic patience while the tension mounted and the British did his work for him; sure enough the British pressed him to make demands on the Czechs, but this was the Sudetens' business not his and right to the end he made no demands; as he had hoped, when the moment of decision came the nerve of the British and French cracked and they forced the Czechs to cede the Sudetenland to him; Munich was thus brought about not by Hitler's planning or pressure, but by British policy, which had worked precisely to this end; it was 'a triumph for British policy . . . , not a triumph for Hitler, who had started with no such clear intention' (p. 189).

Like the rest of the book, this description contains elements of truth and perspicacity, but it is erroneous in detail and wholly false in total impression. It is true that the *Anschluss* gravely weakened Czechoslovakia's strategic position, but this would not have put her on the agenda for action had there not been in Berlin a government determined to destroy her. It is true that differences among the various nationalities in Czechoslovakia were intensified by the administrative methods and outlook of the Czechs, and that the Sudeten Germans were encouraged by Hitler's accession to power, but it is not true that the Sudetens built up tension 'without guidance from Hitler' (p. 248), for on 28 March Hitler gave full instructions to the Sudeten leader, Henlein, as Taylor himself notes on page 153. For the 'ungovernable excitement' of the Sudetens Taylor quotes no evidence, and he ignores the opposite inference (that such excitement as they exhibited was carefully governed by Hitler) which may be drawn from Hitler's rejection at Berchtesgaden of Chamberlain's suggestion that they might jointly appeal to the Czechs and the Sudetens for moderation:⁶ this rejection by Hitler is indeed one of the most revealing details of the Czech crisis. That Benes also desired to build up the tension is a speculative interpretation which may or may not be true, but in fairness Taylor should have mentioned Benes's constitutional and political difficulties in accepting the Sudeten demands. I know of no sufficient evidence to show that Chamberlain believed Hitler could be won for peace, although there is plenty to show that he hoped he might be. If Chamberlain had no doubts about Britain's strength, it is a little strange that he should have frequently expressed such doubts, as for instance to the French on 29 April.⁷ It is gross distortion to quote, as

⁶ *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, Third Series, Vol. II, p. 348.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Third Series, Vol. I, pp. 213 and 221.

evidence of Britain's pressing Hitler to make demands on the Czechs, Bismarck's note of his conversation at lunch with Kirkpatrick on 9 May—'If the German Government would advise the British Government confidentially what solution of the Sudeten German question they were striving after . . . the British Government would bring such pressure to bear in Prague that the Czechoslovak Government would be compelled to accede to the German wishes' (p. 162): the aim of this, as agreed with the French, was to tie Hitler down and thus deny him the tactics, which he had in fact on 28 March instructed Henlein to adopt, of 'always demand[ing] so much that we can never be satisfied'.⁸ To say that Hitler made no demands is an astonishing statement in view of his speeches at Nuremberg on 12 September and in the *Sportpalast* on 26 September, and of his interviews with Chamberlain at Berchtesgaden on 15 September and still more at Godesberg on 22 and 23 September. The tenability of the view that the end achieved at Munich was precisely what British policy had worked for depends on what the end achieved at Munich is taken to have been: if it was a peaceful revision of an unjust element of the Versailles settlement then this view would be not unreasonable, but if it was a seizure of territory under the threat of force, marking a long step towards the domination of Europe by an expansionist power, then it was certainly not a 'triumph for British policy'. Taylor still pretends, as the British government tried to persuade themselves, that it was the former and not the latter. In maintaining this view he discounts the Foreign Office statement on 26 September that Britain would support France if she became involved in war on behalf of Czechoslovakia;⁹ moreover on page 166, with crude one-sidedness, he quotes as Strang's recommendations the views of the Berlin embassy that the Czechs should be forced to accept the cession of the Sudetenland, and makes no mention of the recommendations in the contrary sense of the Prague embassy whose opinions Strang was likewise sent to canvass and which he faithfully reported in the same document.¹⁰ Finally, it is verbal quibbling to say that Hitler started with 'no such clear intention' as was realized in the Munich agreement: that he had not in the spring of 1938, or at any time, planned in detail the exact course that events were to follow to the *dénouement* at Munich is true enough, but this in no way supports the inference which Taylor draws that he had no plans for the destruction of Czechoslovakia. This necessary task of German policy as Hitler saw it, is set down in *Mein Kampf*, written in 1924 and 1925, it reappears in the Hossbach memorandum of 5 November 1937; and it is the object of the military plans set out in the directives to the *Wehrmacht* which go under the name of Fall Grün (June 1937, 20 and 28 May 1938, and 24 June 1938).

⁸ *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, Series D, Vol. II, p. 198.

⁹ *Documents on British Foreign Policy*, Third Series, Vol. II, p. 550.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Third Series, Vol. I, p. 406.

Here indeed is the basic weakness of the whole book. Taylor's fundamental thesis is that wars are caused more by the frailties than by the wickedness of men, that Hitler, though more wicked than most (particularly in his internal policy), did not intend or plan the war of 1939, which was caused, like other wars, by the blunders of himself and others. To sustain this thesis Taylor endeavours to show that each of the crises that marked the road to war—the Rhineland in 1936, the *Anschluss* and Munich in 1938, Prague and Memelland in March 1939, and Poland in August 1939—developed in ways which Hitler did not intend or plan, that if he intended war at all it was war against the U.S.S.R. (neutral in 1939) and not the war which occurred against Britain and France, and that the final proof that he did not intend or plan the war in which he found himself in 1939 is to be found in the state of his armaments.

Three comments may be made on this argument. First, the state of his armaments is evidence of his intentions only if Hitler is taken always to have acted according to a rational assessment of the situation, and if his armaments were indeed insufficient for their purpose: in fact, Hitler's actions were frequently irrational in terms of the objective realities of the situation, and his arms sufficed for an unbroken succession of victories for more than two years, with the one exception of the conquest of Britain, for which admittedly he had prepared no plans. Secondly, although the primary object of Hitler's policy was doubtless the destruction of the Slav menace and the conquest of *Lebensraum* in the east (Taylor sets up and knocks down the Marxist economic argument for war, but does not consider the demographic argument, and, astonishingly, hardly mentions Hitler's racialism), nevertheless Hitler always recognized that France could never permit such an accretion to German strength and thus French power would have to be broken. Britain was another matter, and it was his major diplomatic failure not to have succeeded in detaching Britain from France, but necessarily his policy had to carry that risk. Finally, to maintain that each crisis in detail did not develop precisely according to Hitler's plans and intentions is irrelevant to the argument that the succession of crises represented stages in a broad plan the aims of which could not be achieved except by war, and that Hitler recognized this. Certainly, if at each crisis all his opponents had been prepared to concede unconditionally all that he demanded, peace could have been preserved. Is this the lesson we are supposed to draw? But in law, and in common sense, the consequence of an action is presumed to have been intended if a reasonable man would suppose that the particular consequence would follow from the action in question. Whether Hitler was a reasonable man or not, the actions that he said he would perform, and that he did perform, were such as any sane man would expect eventually to lead to war, protest as Taylor may (and as Hitler sometimes did) that this was not his intention.

HISTORY BOOKS FOR SCHOOLS: XI

STANLEY ENGLISH

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THIS REVIEW ARTICLE may well begin with a book about teaching history. Miss E. M. Lewis is Principal Lecturer in History at Furzedown Training College, and her subject is the teaching of history in secondary modern schools.¹ Her book is aimed primarily at the non-historian who has to teach the subject, and its purpose is to break his (or her) dependence on 'chapter by chapter teaching' from the textbook. It should be compulsory reading for specialists as well, and indeed for every teacher of history except the cloistered few who confine themselves to the upper forms of grammar schools—and even they might benefit from its author's lively good sense. On selection of material she makes an unanswerable case for reducing the traditional syllabus and for dealing in patches. She stresses the importance of teaching at each stage only what can be understood, but does not underestimate her pupils' capacity for understanding. Only on the alleged moral value of history does she fall into what looks like confusion, quoting Livingstone (inevitably) to the effect that history lessons should be used to inspire children by telling them about great and good men, and then going on to advocate the study of bad men as 'part of the truth'. On methods Miss Lewis is very difficult to criticize, so reasonable are her suggestions, so telling her examples. Any teacher of history who wants to be stimulated by a sanely enthusiastic appraisal of his problems will read this book: any historian whose non-specialist friends and colleagues have to teach history should try to get them to read it.

*Finding out about the Incas*² and *Finding out about Ancient Egypt*³ are two of a series of books intended for 'young teenagers'. The object is to exploit the current (but now fading?) interest in archaeology by using one or two discoveries as pegs on which to hang an account of a civilization. The approach is deliberately popular. Miss Burland begins with a bang—'Gold was the call of Peru, gold, gold, gold!' This I find depressing, but it does not last, and the style settles down into readability. The emphasis is of necessity social, and historical narrative only comes in just before the Spaniards. Food, buildings and transport are examined in detail, as well as (rather uncertainly for lack of evidence) government and religion. 'Brave Pizarro' arrives and Inca civilization ends. The photographs are good and there are some cheerful drawings.

¹ E. M. Lewis: *Teaching History in Secondary Schools*. Evans. 12s. 6d.

² Exploring the Past Series. C. A. Burland: *Finding out about the Incas*. Muller. 9s. 6d.

³ H. E. L. Mellersh: *Finding out about Ancient Egypt*. Muller. 9s. 6d.

One finishes the book full of curiosity to know more about Inca history and archæology—and then one finds that there is no book-list. Mr. Mellersh's book also suffers from the lack of bibliography and index. His starting-point is the Rosetta stone and its interpretation: later come the Tel-el-Amarna tablets and the tomb of Tutankhamen. The style is always bright, clear and readable: Mr. Mellersh writes much as a good teacher might talk. His book is an excellent introduction to the subject for the young teenager—or indeed for the older child in a junior school.

There is also a Methuen 'Outline' on *Ancient Egypt*.⁴ Mr. Sellman has fewer stories of discovery to tell, but he gives us a great deal more detailed information about what has been discovered. He aims at an abler audience, and tells it quite as much as it could reasonably expect in 60 pages. The style and approach are *Oxford Junior Encyclopaedia* rather than Arthur Mee. In so scholarly a book it is a pity that questions should be begged: 'Compared with the Hebrews, their moral ideas were . . . childish . . .' and 'Hymns to the Aton of this period come much nearer to genuine [sic] worship than anything the other cults ever produced . . .' But this is an excellent summary for the intelligent pupil, which will be equally useful as an introduction for the older age-groups and as a reference book for the younger. Like the rest of this series, the book is beautifully produced, and the illustrations and maps are first-rate. Its companion on *Ancient Rome*⁵ is much less inspiring. It is described as 'a first-rate companion to classical studies in the secondary school'. It might be more accurate to call it a companion to Roman historical legends. Much of the book retells the more romantic stories from Livy. The Sabines are seized; Lucretia is 'insulted'; Brutus kisses mother earth; Horatius keeps the bridge; the Falerian school-master gets his deserts; the Capitoline geese cackle; Brennus exclaims 'Woe to the conquered!'; and so on. The style is too literary for its audience—Macaulay, Shakespeare, Gibbon and Noel Coward are among those quoted to little purpose. Again, the analytical passages one expects in a book of this sort are compressed or excluded altogether: there is not enough here on government under the Republic, the organization of the army, the working of Roman law or the daily life of Romans at any time. The maps and photographs are excellent, but classical (and historical) students will need some other companion.

Professor Briggs' source-book of twentieth-century British history⁶ will be familiar to many readers by the time this notice appears: teachers will probably have borrowed it from school or public libraries, for its price is on the margin of affordability. But then it is much fatter than its predecessors in the series. It is also less obviously a book 'for schools'. Nevertheless it must go into every library, for, though no

⁴ R. R. Sellman: *Ancient Egypt*. Methuen (Outline Series). 10s. 6d.

⁵ D. Taylor: *Ancient Rome*. Methuen (Outline Series). 10s. 6d.

⁶ Asa Briggs (ed.): *They Saw it Happen, 1897-1940*. Blackwell. 30s.

substitute for history (Professor Briggs urges us to read it with 'a narrative history, a biographical dictionary and an atlas at one's side'), it is clearly an indispensable aid to the study of this century at second hand. The usual political memoirs are here: Amery (inevitably telling Chamberlain to go), Dalton, Asquith, Beaverbrook, Templewood (notably on Gandhi in 1931), and the rest. But that is not all, for the third (roughly) of the book that deals with life outside politics contains, among others, Harold Nicolson exaggerating (surely?) the Edwardians' addiction to food; John Reith taking over the newly-founded B.B.C.; Henry Hall describing his apprenticeship; Larwood bowling; the North London Collegiate School being evacuated. No anthology is perfect—I should myself have liked a good deal from the newspapers and periodicals of the time and perhaps a little fiction too—but this one is very good indeed. I wish there were a paperback edition.

One of Professor Briggs' requirements—the biographical dictionary—is now being supplied by the same publisher. The first four volumes will cover British history to 'the present day' (although the General Editor will not commit himself beyond the Victorian era). *Who's Who in History* will thus be a useful companion to *They Saw it Happen* (or its first three volumes). The first of these biographical volumes has now appeared.⁷ It is finely turned out and admirably illustrated. This is a junior (and, where necessary, revised) edition of the *D.N.B.* for the years up to 1485. The project deserves the highest praise: somebody should have done this long ago. Mr. Hassall's execution of his task raises only one question: for whom are these brief lives intended? The vocabulary and style are not obviously junior: yet, the content is often anecdotal, and the important facts about important people are often left out (we are referred to general histories for them). Mr. Hassall's objects are, he says, 'to entertain and instruct the amateur, whether . . . at school or . . . adult'. Is it too solemnly puritanical to wish that the order of these objects had been reversed? For this book is consistently entertaining; with secondary figures it does well: but in dealing with the great it too often irritates by its reluctance to instruct. The publisher's claim that 'the four volumes taken together [will] provide a general history of the British Isles' could never be made good: but there would be something to be said for a more hearty attempt.

It is clear that publishers now know about documents. They know that we need collections for class use which will illustrate what is taught; which are at once authentic and not too difficult to understand; which are full and scholarly and yet cheap. Hutchinsons are now producing a series called *Portraits and Documents*, edited by the Senior History Master of Bristol Grammar School, and two volumes have appeared.^{8, 9} They are the best for class use that I have seen. Each

⁷ W. O. Hassall: *Who's Who in History*, vol. I. Blackwell. 27s. 6d.

⁸ J. S. Millward (ed.): *Portraits and Documents, Sixteenth Century*. Hutchinson. 10s. 6d. (bound); 7s. 9d. (limp).

⁹ *Ibid.:* *Seventeenth Century*. 12s. 6d. and 8s. 9d.

contains a series of pen-portraits (mostly contemporary) of prominent men and women, a set of political and constitutional extracts, and an economic and social section. In addition there are 32 well-chosen plates. Spelling and punctuation are modernized, but a couple of extracts are printed as written, and there are facsimile photographs. Mr. Millward's choice of extracts is felicitous and catholic (but is there no more sympathetic pen-portrait of Cromwell?). Local documents (Essex, inevitably) come in with the national, and the *Sixteenth Century* has a section to illustrate Elizabeth I's relations with her Parliaments that will save a lot of chasing about in the volumes of Neale. But I wish the editor had been less retiring, and added brief notes to introduce all the entries.

Documents often need editing in the classroom, and until we find our way about, our books tend to be edited badly. It is done for us most impressively by Mr. J. H. Bowles in his admirable *Dramatic Decisions, 1776-1945*.¹⁰ Briefly, this book contains eleven do-it-yourself B.B.C. broadcasts for senior forms on famous debates, trials or enquiries, from the discussion which preceded the drafting of the Declaration of Independence to the 1935 Labour Party Conference on Mussolini and the League, with the addition of an imaginary conversation on the decision to drop the bomb on Hiroshima. The key points are brought out and vocabulary is simplified to meet the needs of intelligent pupils of fifteen. There are notes on the speakers, a few explanatory notes, provocative 'ideas for development' and book lists (aimed above the fifteen-year-old level). They can be read aloud in class (or tape-recorded beforehand?), or would provide useful private reading for forms IV, V or VI. There is one odd omission from the 1935 Brighton debate—Bevin does not make his memorable attack on Lansbury—and one general query: would it not have been possible by simple typographical devices to indicate where the editor had cut or altered the texts?

Another series with documents and pictures is *Picture Source Books*, compiled by the Curator of the Geffrye Museum and her collaborators. The latest volume covers the social history of the later nineteenth century.¹¹ No one is better qualified than Mrs. Harrison to produce this sort of book for an audience of children. The book itself is finely produced, down (or up?) to the Kelmscott Press design on the cover. There is a brief and sensible introduction; 92 photographs of great clarity and interest; and 70 pages of extracts on clothes, education, leisure, travel, invention and so on. The extracts are drawn from a wide selection of sources, including *Punch*, *Mrs. Beeton*, the *Sporting Times*, the *School Log-Book of Miss Annie Pink*, *In Darkest England*, and many diaries and memoirs. Not all are solemn, but every one is revealing. But could not the references to sources (now gathered in an appendix) have been printed with the extracts themselves? Children

¹⁰ J. H. Bowles: *Dramatic Decisions, 1776-1945*. Macmillan. 8s. 6d.

¹¹ Molly Harrison and O. M. Royston: *Picture Source Book for Social History—Late Nineteenth Century*. Allen and Unwin. 12s. 6d.

need to be reminded that they are reading *what someone said or wrote*. Brief notes on the writers might also help. But these are small details in an elegant and thoughtful book. One hopes that it is not the last of Mrs. Harrison's series: there is also the twentieth century.

The most famous book of documents to be published this year is not available for review here. Despite its lapses into cliché the *New English Bible* is clearly evoking new interest in the content of Scripture. But like all books of documents it needs commentary: the historical imagination (whether of Biblical scholar, schoolmaster or schoolboy) must work on the texts. And it can work only in a known geographical context. That is why the *Historical Atlas of the Holy Land*¹² can be recommended to all teachers of Biblical history. 'This distinguished book', says the blurb, 'contains 40 pages of beautiful full-color maps which bring to life the Biblical world from the days of the Patriarchs to the time of Paul'—and every word is justified. As well as the coloured maps there are 70 photographs (places in Palestine or archaeological finds), diagrams and maps, each with an explanatory paragraph. Up-to-date and reliable Biblical scholarship lies behind the explanations, and the editor distinguishes carefully between tradition and knowledge. A concession is made to popular interests by an opening section on the Dead Sea Scrolls and to popular taste by an occasional heading (the worst—'Where the walls came tumbling down'). But this is a book to *use*, not merely to read or browse in: and its use is a real pleasure. Essential for the library.

Another vital book (in both senses of the word) is *Political Ideas in the Modern World*,¹³ for Sixth Formers and others. This is where history marches with philosophy. After a brief sketch of the history of political thought, Mr. Heater examines the theory and practice of nationalism, communism, democracy and the religions as they affect politics. The purpose of the examination is clearly set out: 'It is in the belief that political ideas have a vital effect on world politics and that this effect today is, on the whole, a harmful one, due to the maladjustment of our ideas, that this book has been written.' The standpoint is that of a slightly sceptical liberal democrat, believing that 'democracy is the compromise of safety'. (My own guess is that Mr. Heater is a disillusioned socialist.) The chapter on democracy is quite first class and the best thing in the book. About nationalism, whose origin in Europe and spread to Asia and Africa he outlines, the author is uncertain. He dislikes it, but wants nationalist claims in Africa to be granted. Finally he examines the grounds for hope in the growth of supra-national authorities of various sorts. The chapter on communism is rather less impressive, because less sympathetic, though there is a brilliant summary of the development of Marx's thought and an analysis of the religious

¹² E. G. Kraeling (ed.): *The Rand McNally Historical Atlas of the Holy Land*. Rand McNally (U.K. distributor Nicholas Vane). 25s.

¹³ D. B. Heater: *Political Ideas in the Modern World*. Harrap. 9s. 6d.

nature of Marxism. I hope I have written enough to show that this is just the book for lively Sixth Formers. The number of times one says 'Yes, but . . .' is only exceeded by the number of times one says 'Yes, of course.' But there is no such word as 'Jap'. And why are there no maps?

We now have an omnibus *Carter and Mears*¹⁴ in its third edition—nearly 1100 pages of textbook classic. The text is substantially unaltered down to 1914, but later chapters have been recast. This is obviously a great textbook, especially for those who read easily. It is academic history without apologies and not so good, perhaps, for C forms. It is uneven in its early sections and barely adequate on the twentieth century. But, in between, its majestic efficiency is still impressive. Only two things annoy: the use of the first person plural to mean England, Britain, the United Kingdom or its rulers; and the treatment of eighteenth-century politics. My feeling is that to call the government 'us' is to betray the standards of impartiality which should rule in the classroom. This is perhaps controversial: over the eighteenth century there can be little disagreement. Professor Namier has lived and died, and the O.U.P. should not put out the old story as it is here, *Patriot King* and all.

Another Etonian book appears in a new edition. *Barker, St. Aubyn and Ollard*¹⁵ contrasts strongly with *Carter and Mears*. It gives roughly the same space to the period, but is less meaty and more thoughtful. On the whole, a better Sixth Form introduction but a less efficient O-level textbook. Valuable appendices, glossary and (stiffish) book-list. The second edition incorporates minor changes and has an additional chapter on recent developments in Commonwealth and Foreign Affairs. But the book does not reach 1960, its avowed terminus. The authors admit that everything after 1945 is very sketchy. This is perhaps understandable, but the chapters on 'Literature and Thought' stop short at 1914; those on 'English Politics' at 1918: these omissions are much more damaging.

One other new edition should be noted: the second edition, extensively revised, of Professor Redford's *Economic History of England, 1760-1860*.¹⁶ The additions and revisions (particularly in the earlier chapters) will give a very welcome new lease of life to an excellent book.

M. L. R. Isaac's *History of Europe, 1870-1950*¹⁷ is also designed for O-level pupils and for Sixth Form non-specialists. This is a suicidally difficult period for O level but Mr. Isaac does what can be done to make it intelligible. Complex problems are analysed clearly, and the judgements are soundly based and free from bias. Scholarship is up to date. The chapter on the causes of the 1914 war is particularly good.

¹⁴ E. H. Carter and R. A. F. Mears: *A History of Britain* (3rd edition). O.U.P. 27s. 6d.; *Section 5 (1688-1958)* 12s. 6d.

¹⁵ W. A. Barker, G. R. St. Aubyn and R. L. Ollard: *A General History of England, 1832-1960* (2nd edition). A. and C. Black. 12s. 6d.

¹⁶ A. Redford: *The Economic History of England, 1760-1860* (2nd edition). Longmans. 12s. 6d.

¹⁷ M. L. R. Isaac: *A History of Europe, 1870-1950*. Arnold. 10s.

There are good maps and better photographs. It is a pity to stop at 1950: an extension would make Mr. Isaac's book more useful for non-specialists and at the same time give him the room for intellectual manœuvre which he clearly lacked when writing of the period after 1945. There should be a glossary (essential for O-level pupils) and a bibliography (helpful for the Sixth). A very good book, but not quite the book on this period: that is still to be written.

*Roman Britain and Saxon England*¹⁸ is for first-year forms in secondary schools. The Roman section in particular is a model of exposition at this level and includes an imaginary visit to Silchester which is very well done. But the Saxons are a little compressed, having less than one-third of the book. Dr. Riley clearly prefers Roman studies. The book is designed to cover one year's work, and it is the sort of book that you work straight through, without skipping, index-searching and so on. My own preference is for a textbook that gives a lot more than the class will need in any given year: but more economical books can of course be supplemented in other ways, and this one would make a useful basis. The illustrations, though small, are helpful.

*Soldiers and Sailors*¹⁹ includes short biographies of Drake, Marlborough, Wolfe, Clive, Nelson, Wellington, Gordon and Alanbrooke. The tone is generally approving: there are few warts on these portraits. There are also (surprisingly) few maps in this book. Save for one obvious mistake (*younger* for *elder* Pitt in the essay on Clive) the texts are reliable and simply written. This is presumably a boys' book: *Houses and History*²⁰ will be of special interest to girls. Miss Sutcliff uses her novelist's skill and her historian's scholarship to tell stories of 'human interest' connected with great English houses, from Penshurst to Chatsworth, from Nun Appleton to Hayes Barton. The stories are romantic and appealing, and they ring true.

*The True Book about the Russian Revolution*²¹ is perhaps hardly that. It is good popular journalism and gives a clear, dramatic, narrative account of the events of 1917. It is more concerned with people than with politics (16 pages on Rasputin and one on the Duma); gives domestic details of the life of Lenin in exile but barely an outline of his ideas, tells us a great deal about the fate of Nicholas II and his family. We are expected to pity the plumage, but are given no clear idea why the bird died. Illustrations include a splendid drawing of Trotsky (for some reason spelt Trotzky); some sensational ones ('The mad monk staggered across the snowy courtyard'); and some useless ones ('Lenin rambling in the open').

Next, a textbook with two differences. *A History of Africa, Book I*²² is written for African readers, and it is written in a lively and uncon-

¹⁸ P. W. J. Riley: *Roman Britain and Saxon England*. Bell. 6s. 6d.

¹⁹ N. Wymer: *Lives of Great Men and Women, V: Soldiers and Sailors*. O.U.P. 10s. 6d.

²⁰ Rosemary Sutcliff: *Houses and History*. Batsford. 12s. 6d.

²¹ J. Fisher: *The True Book about the Russian Revolution*. Muller. 8s. 6d.

²² W. E. F. Ward: *A History of Africa, Book I*. Allen and Unwin. 6s. (limp).

ventional manner. The series of which this is the first book will outline the history of all the major regions of Africa. This volume deals with the old kingdoms of the Sudan (using the word in its wider sense); Nigeria before the British; and South Africa up to Verwoerd. These sections are prefaced by a down-to-earth introductory essay called 'What is History?' This essay is a brilliant exposition in simple terms of the nature, procedures and purposes of historical enquiry. The historical sections have the same verve, but the material is less tractable: even Mr. Ward cannot make the Old Kingdoms much more than a catalogue. The general trends and problems of South African history are explained very clearly, though I should have liked more detail in Gladstone and Majuba, and Chamberlain should at least be mentioned in connection with Jameson's Raid. This is a project to be welcomed, here as well as in Africa. *The Making of the West Indies*²³ is a more conventional textbook about a region with more accessible written records. It is intended for West Indian school certificate candidates and seems a tough book for pupils at that level. But it is very fully informative and soundly thought out. Very suitable for British Sixth Formers and senior libraries.

Finally, *Entertainment*²⁴ is a pleasant little book (45 small pages and 20 plates) with a price that seems rather too big for its content. It is written clearly, amusingly and without condescension. Cinema, radio and television are in, but not professional sport. The section on the medieval stage is good, but Greek plays are, surprisingly, ignored. There is a good list of Questions to Answer and Things to Do. (Top of primary school to mid secondary.)

New film-strips include *Twentieth Century Britain, Part I*,²⁵ which has, as 'Notes', a notable essay on the social and economic history of Britain since 1900 by Mr. W. E. Payne (aimed at senior pupils); one on travel through the ages²⁶ for juniors; a tour of Dickensian London²⁷ which shows prints (mostly nineteenth-century) of streets and buildings mentioned in the novels; a fine *Elizabethan Theatre*²⁸—mainly portraits, scenes from productions and reconstructions of theatres—with helpful notes; and *William Shakespeare*,²⁹ similar but less useful for schools (15 frames showing scenes from the plays could not easily be made to mean much to children). Every one of these strips is beautifully produced: the colour in particular is impressive.

²³ F. R. Augier, S. C. Gordon, D. G. Hall and M. Reckord: *The Making of the West Indies*. Longmans. 12s. 6d.

²⁴ John Kay: *Entertainment*. Blackwell (Pocket Histories Series). 7s. 6d.

²⁵ No. 5236: *Twentieth Century Britain, Part I* (46 frames, B/W). 16s. 6d.

²⁶ No. 5247: *Do You Want to Travel?* (36 frames, B/W). 16s. 6d.

²⁷ C.6362: *Around London with Dickens* (32 frames, colour). 27s. 6d.

²⁸ C.6363: *Elizabethan Theatre* (41 frames, colour). 27s. 6d.

²⁹ C.6364: *William Shakespeare* (48 frames, colour). 27s. 6d.

All these strips by Educational Productions Ltd., East Ardsley, Wakefield, Yorks.

EDITORIAL NOTES

THE BELIEF that history can be written in a vacuum, as a pure academic discipline devoid of contemporary reference, has died hard, but I doubt if any serious historian holds it now. As Mr. A. J. P. Taylor, in his notable work on *The Origins of the Second World War*, says, in writing even of such an apparently remote subject as medieval administrative history Tout was reflecting twentieth-century developments. And not only is the writing of history influenced by social and political conditions, in turn it exercises an influence on them. Thus Mr. Taylor points to the 'revisionism', during the inter-war years, of historians of the causes of the First World War on the subject of war guilt. Their books were political acts, and the same is true of his own book. This is not a criticism: even an historian can be, and usually is, a political animal, and it is humbug to pretend otherwise. Of course, the political presuppositions of historians generally have to be read between the lines, and it is easy to draw the wrong conclusion. For one reader, at least, the teaching of Mr. Taylor's book is that war is not so much wicked as futile, and that 'only a country which aims at victory can be threatened with defeat' (p. 101). There is material here for a far longer discussion than is possible in these Editorial Notes. Elsewhere in this number Mr. Taylor's book is reviewed at length. Here, some of the broader issues raised by a work which has historiographical, as well as political, significance may properly be mentioned.

There has undoubtedly been a tendency to concentrate the whole discussion of the guilt of the Second World War on the person of Hitler, and so implicitly to provide an alibi for the German nation, which supported him, and the other nations and their statesmen whose folly or weakness provided the necessary conditions for his triumphs. By reminding us of this Mr. Taylor has performed a useful service. At the same time he has done some other things which are rather less useful, and to which attention should be drawn; for this is a book which might easily become (as for its skilful advocacy it would deserve to) a standard textbook for the sixth-forms of schools and for undergraduates.

The first is probably the most harmless, and some would think it even a laudable bias: this is the Cleopatra's nose theory of history—the belief that the most trivial accidents are the normal causes of the most important results. The Second World War, we learn, was the result of a series of diplomatic blunders, culminating in Hitler 'launching on 29 August a diplomatic manœuvre which he ought to have launched on 28 August' (p. 278; cf. p. 219). Voltaire would have found this explanation eminently satisfactory, though he might not have accepted the view, which logically follows, that 'the greatest masters of statecraft are those who do not know what they are doing' (p. 72).

In some respects Mr. Taylor seems to put Hitler in the class of Bismarck. The historian's natural weakness is to admire temporary success and this foible was perhaps unusually strong during the last generation. The book gives me the impression, which may, of course, be mistaken, that so long as Hitler was successful, Mr. Taylor cannot help admiring him. One element in

the admiration is, as he argues with considerable force, that Hitler had no detailed plan and no time-table of conquest (pp. 68-9, 108, 134, 171, 192). He can hardly deny that Hitler had certain aims, but these are consistently played down. Nearly everything Hitler wrote or said, including *Mein Kampf*, is dismissed as 'day-dreams', 'conversation of any Austrian café or German beer-house', 'talking for effect' and so on (cf. pp. 69, 131-3, 264, 281). It is true that this procedure is necessary for Mr. Taylor's argument, but it has, I believe, a broader significance. It seems to me to reflect, almost in an exaggerated form, the recently dominant disposition to treat ideas as a negligible factor in history; because, for all its rant, *Mein Kampf* represents this factor just as much as, say, Plato's *Republic*. Not for nothing is Mr. Taylor the pupil of the late Sir Lewis Namier, in whom brilliance of style, mastery of detail (in his case perhaps rather more exact detail), and contempt for ideas reached their acme.

A fourth point to be noted is that the book is written in the established tradition of diplomatic history. Its material is confined to diplomatic correspondence, along with such memoirs of diplomats, foreign ministers and other statesmen as are available. It is difficult to believe that the origins of the Second World War can be adequately discussed within these limits. Indeed, in one place Mr. Taylor himself acknowledges that 'Hitler's domestic behaviour, not his foreign policy, was the real crime which ultimately brought him—and Germany—to the ground' (p. 202). Apart from this 'throw-away' line, there is practically no mention of the domestic policy of the Nazis, nor—except for two incidental references to anti-semitism—any mention of racialism. The assumption seems to be that international developments can be understood without reference to the internal conditions and policies of states. Certainly, here also Mr. Taylor is only following in a well-trodden path. That is the trouble. One cannot but express surprise, as well as regret, to find him giving support, by example if not by precept, to ways of writing history which, however orthodox they may have been in the past, one had hoped were being abandoned now.

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The Annual Conference of the Historical Association will be held at Oxford in January 1962. The Annual General Meeting will be held at University College, London, at 2.30 p.m. on Saturday, 17 March.

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Among 'paperback' reissues of interest to historians, which we have been sent, are:

C. W. Oman (edited J. H. Beeler): **THE ART OF WAR IN THE MIDDLE AGES, A.D. 378-1515.** Cornell U.P.: O.U.P. 1960. xviii + 176 pp. 14s.

J. M. Keynes (edited G. Keynes): **ESSAYS IN BIOGRAPHY.** London: Mercury Books. 1961. vii + 354 pp. 7s. 6d.

A. C. Crombie: **AUGUSTINE TO GALILEO.** Vol. I. Science in the Middle Ages—V-XIII centuries. Vol. II. Science in the later Middle Ages—XIII-XVII centuries. London: Mercury Books. 1961. xxii + 296 pp.; xvii + 380 pp. 7s. 6d. each.

M. Rostovtzeff: **ROME.** New York: O.U.P. 1960. xiii + 347 pp. 13s. 6d.

S. F. Bemis: **PINCKNEY'S TREATY.** America's Advantage from Europe's Distress, 1783-1800. Yale U.P.: O.U.P. 1960. xvi + 372 pp. 14s.

J. L. Talmon: **THE ORIGINS OF TOTALITARIAN DEMOCRACY**. London: Mercury Books. 1961. xi + 366 pp. 12s. 6d.

Elie Halévy: **HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY** in six volumes, each 12s. 6d.

 Vol. I: **ENGLAND IN 1815**. London: E. Benn. 1961. xv + 655 pp.

 Vol. II: **THE LIBERAL AWAKENING. 1815-1830**. xiii + 325 pp.

 Vol. III: **THE TRIUMPH OF REFORM. 1830-1841**. vii + 364 pp.

 Vol. IV: **VICTORIAN YEARS. 1841-1895**. viii + 507 pp.

 Vol. V: **IMPERIALISM AND THE RISE OF LABOUR**. xiii + 442 pp.

 Vol. VI: **THE RULE OF DEMOCRACY. 1905-1914**. x + 686 pp.

Carl Lotus Becker: **BEGINNINGS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE**. Cornell U.P.: O.U.P. 1961. vi + 293 pp. 15s.

Frank Thistlethwaite: **THE GREAT EXPERIMENT**. An introduction to the History of the American people. C.U.P. 1961. xiv + 335 pp. 12s. 6d.

F. W. Maitland: **THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND**. O.U.P. 1961. xxviii + 548 pp. 15s.

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We are asked to insert the following information:—

In bequeathing her estate to the University of London the late Miss Isobel Thornley wished to encourage postgraduate study and research in History. The University has decided in the first instance to apply the income from this bequest to helping the publication of the results of original historical investigation. The University, therefore, invites applications for assistance towards the publication of completed historical work, whether in the form of book or article, which has already been submitted to an editor or publisher who judges it worthy of publication by him. Applicants must be past or present members of the University of London. First consideration will be given to past or present postgraduate students and to junior teachers of History in the University.

Application forms may be obtained from the Academic Registrar, University of London, Senate House, London W.C.1.

Completed manuscripts should NOT be sent with the application.

REVIEWS AND SHORT NOTICES

ANCIENT

CRETE AND MYCENAE. By Spyridon Marinatos. Trans. by J. Boardman. Photographs by Max Hirmer, 52 colour plates, 369 monochrome plates. London: Thames and Hudson. 177 pp. £6 6s.

This should be welcomed first as a magnificent picture-book. Max Hirmer's photographs are admirable, and the reproduction both of monochrome and colour leaves nothing to be desired. Over four hundred large plates, many of them illustrating several objects or scenes, cover the whole range of Minoan and Mycenæan art, and most of the sites and objects are illustrated; as Mycenæ is interpreted as Mycenæan Greece, one could have wished for more Mycenæan objects from Attica and for some specimens of the frescoes of the palaces at Pylos. But when so much is given it is greedy to ask for more.

The book is well planned. A long introduction on Crete and Mycenæ is interspersed with the colour plates and followed by brief notes; then the great mass of monochrome plates, then very useful descriptions of each of the plates with plans of all the chief sites and buildings and a brief bibliography. The introduction gives a good account of the history, civilization, and arts of Minoan Crete and Mycenæan Greece from soon after 3000 B.C. to about 1100 B.C. Professor Marinatos steers his way cautiously through controversial problems, and it is sometimes not quite clear what he thinks himself. He has however a clear preference for natural catastrophes as a cause for the destruction of palaces and for intermarriage as an explanation of Linear B in fifteenth-century Knossos and Minoanizing art in sixteenth-century Mycenæ; he also emphasizes the Egyptian connections of Mycenæ. The translation is adequate, if sometimes inelegant.

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T. B. L. WEBSTER

LIVY: HIS HISTORICAL AIMS AND METHODS. By P. G. Walsh. Cambridge University Press. 1961. xi + 300 pp. 40s.

The excitement caused three years ago by the appearance of Syme's *Tacitus* is as lively as ever 'in conviviis ac circulis' among scholars. Walsh's book weighs only a fifth as much as Syme's; but it would be a profound mistake to infer from that fact that it has only a fifth as much importance.

In breadth, learning and scholarship Syme's book is a *nonpareil*, and it is hard to imagine that any scholar in any language will have the temerity to produce a large-scale work on Tacitus within at least a generation. But it had a long line of predecessors, works on Tacitus which, without being monumental, were, many of them, very good books indeed; and many of them were written in English. For in Britain, as in other countries, Tacitus has—and rightly—for long been an exceedingly popular historian.

Livy's case is sadly, incomprehensibly, different. Livy is read in schools, and there are a number of school editions of individual books of Livy, some of

them very good. In English universities Livy is hardly read at all, and it is difficult to remember when an important book in English about Livy was last published. Very little work has been done in English on the fantastically difficult problems of the early books. The tremendous stimulus to source-criticism of the later books which was given by the publication of H. Nissen, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Quellen der vierten und fünften Dekade des Livius*, in 1863 was felt on the continent more than in this country, and in the period of what De Sanctis described as Polybiolatry Livy's credit was absurdly depressed. In the first twenty volumes of the *Journal of Roman Studies* (1911-30) only one book on Livy was reviewed, the Oxford Classical Text of Books 1-5; in the next twenty volumes (1931-50) again only one book on Livy was reviewed, a French edition of Book 1.

At last the wind has veered round. Polybius, whose stock was formerly over-valued, is now so unjustly dis-esteemed that a distinguished scholar can refer to him as 'le faux Thucydide'. The publication of the Oxford Classical Text of Livy, suspended since the publication of Books 26-30 in 1934, is about to be resumed by A. H. Macdonald. Young scholars are starting to write about Livy in the classical periodicals and, harbinger of a long-delayed spring, Walsh's *Livy* has been attractively published by the Cambridge University Press. It is a symbol and, it is to be hoped, a precursor.

For Walsh would be the first to admit that in this book he has not blazed a number of new trails. A great deal of space has been filled, inevitably, in presenting in English the findings of continental scholarship, particularly in the matter of the Roman historical tradition and Livy's dependence on his sources, about whom, Polybius excluded, there is still a great deal to be discovered.

The merit of this book is largely in its breadth; for it deals, in its restricted compass, both with Livy the historian and also with Livy the Latin prose-writer. On Livy the historian Walsh has no *parti pris*; he is almost too ready to acknowledge his many weaknesses. But he is also able to explain his frequently underestimated strength. The tradition of the rhetorical and tragic Hellenistic historians was not wholly bad; and it is in Livy's psychological interpretation of history that his strength lies. He may neglect to describe the mechanics of a complicated siege engine like the *sambuca*, but he recaptures with genius the emotions of a besieged city, of a defeated army. To regard him as a sycophant of Augustus, as Walsh shows, is idiocy. One need only read his preface to know that he neither believed nor pretended to believe that with Augustus the foundation stone had been laid of a braver than brave new world. Walsh indicates well the size of the canvas on which Livy painted—Tacitus was a miniaturist by comparison—and also the fact that (as, lamentably, is the case also with Cassius Dio) we have little means of judging how well he wrote of events within his own lifetime and the lifetime of a generation older than himself. After all, 69 of his 142 books covered the period from the Social War in 90 B.C. to Drusus' death in 9 B.C., and of what was in those books it must be admitted frankly that we know next to nothing at all.

After the historian, the stylist. Walsh writes interestingly about the speeches and about Livy's deviations from Ciceronian style. And, giving his readers the opportunity, which if they are lazy they do not always enjoy, of reading the context in which Quintilian refers (1, 5, 56) to Asinius Pollio's scorn of

Livy's *Patavinitas*, he shows (p. 268), without a shadow of doubt, that Pollio's reference was to his provincialism in language and style and certainly was not a judgement on him as a historian. More than this, Quintilian's references to Livy are not disparaging, as they have sometimes been made to appear.

This is Walsh's first book on Livy; it is greatly hoped that it will not be his last.

Exeter College, Oxford

J. P. V. D. BALSDON

HADRIAN. By Stewart Perowne. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1960.

192 pp. 25s.

Hadrian travelled as no other of the early Roman emperors travelled, and everywhere that he went, he left his mark: the Wall in Britain, the Pantheon (as we know it) and Castel S. Angelo in Rome, the street-plan of present-day Jerusalem, Antinopolis on the Nile. More than this, he shaped the new bureaucracy at Rome and by his 'il faut en finir' attitude to the Jews in Palestine he was an unintentional architect of the triumph of Christianity. A baffling man whom it is clear that Trajan did not altogether trust and whom—Sir Ronald Syme would have us believe—Tacitus did not greatly admire; a Spaniard who, in his passion for Hellenism, was slightly ashamed of Rome, though at a pinch he could be as savagely cruel as the best of them; efficient, just, sensitive and aesthetic. His appeal is easy to understand. It is nearly forty years since B. W. Henderson published the most scholarly biography of him yet written, and just over twenty years since, in volume xi of the Cambridge Ancient History, William Weber wrote the most extraordinary nonsense. After this the palm has gone to the novelists, to Eleanor Clark, whose *Rome and a Villa*, published in 1953, reconstructed with little short of genius the Villa itself and the personality of the man who planned it, and to Marguerite Yourcenar, whose *Mémoires d'Hadrien*, published two years earlier, is one of the most brilliant pieces of historical fiction ever written.

So, in writing about Hadrian, Mr. Perowne is up against hot competition. Though his interests are catholic, he is attracted particularly by Hadrian the administrator, and he starts with the enormous advantage of knowing the eastern Mediterranean exceedingly well and possessing a nice sympathy with its inhabitants; which fact gives great interest and value in particular to his account of Palestine. He keeps up with Hadrian as Hadrian journeys from one corner of the Empire to another and we, panting a little, keep up with them both—panting and also yawning from time to time. Because, for all its excellence, the book has a certain lack of life; and when you reach p. 181 you understand the reason. 'The antique world', Mr. Perowne writes, 'interests mankind only as it prefigures, reflects, or contrasts with our own day: there is small profit in an antiquarianism which merely seeks to revive "what mankind has conspired to forget".' Is this why Antinous, whom Miss Yourcenar handled with a kind of magic, appears here as if he were a slightly discreditable item in a housemaster's report, and the fantasy of the Villa is about as exciting as the lay-out of a public park?

The book is profusely illustrated with admirable photographs, splendidly reproduced, and the publishers are entitled to take great credit for producing it so well and selling it so cheaply.

Exeter College, Oxford

J. P. V. D. BALSDON

IN SLAVERY IN CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY (Cambridge: Heffer. 1960. 235 pp. 15s.) M. I. Finley has collected and introduced eleven significant essays by British, French and German scholars. Although primarily intended for university students, this volume should be of value to anyone interested in the subject.

A second edition has been published of Hermann Bengtson's **GRIECHISCHE GESCHICHTE** (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche. 1950. Second edition 1960. xix + 609 pp. 48 DM.), reviewed *ante*, **xxxix**. 166-7.

THE ETRUSCANS IN THE ANCIENT WORLD, by Otto-Wilhelm von Vacano, has been translated by Sheila Ann Ogilvie (London: E. Arnold. 1960. xii + 195 pp. 30s.). It is illustrated with 16 plates and many drawings.

MEDIEVAL

MEDIEVAL ENGLAND: AN AERIAL SURVEY. By M. W. Beresford and J. K. S. St. Joseph. Cambridge University Press. 1958. 275 pp., with 112 diagrams and plates. 45s.

Air photography long ago made its impact on prehistory, and potentially has been equally available to medieval students since O. G. S. Crawford's clear view of an abandoned village site, Gaintrop in Lincolnshire, appeared in 1925.¹ Now Beresford and St. Joseph have filled a lacuna with this widely ranging survey of medieval England. They show good and well-chosen series of air-photos, set for comparison beside early maps or explanatory diagrams, and an admirable text. It is no criticism of this work to say that it calls for a second volume; it merely emphasizes the great potentialities of this approach. Many other facets of medieval England need illustrating—but only *in addition* to those already included here—and whole tracts of the country, such as west of the Pennines or south of the Thames, are under-represented.

Air photography is probably of the greatest service here in clarifying the study of medieval field and village topography, admirably shown throughout the book, especially with abandoned settlement sites. It is becoming increasingly clear, however, as they point out, that this is a problem in dynamics; the visible lines on such sites may show only the latest buildings, which have obscured the earlier, often with quite different alignment and layout. Fig. 16 shows the Aldwincles in Northamptonshire, a good example of a double village with two churches. The authors point out how tenaciously some features of village layouts could nevertheless be retained, the back lane, for instance, being a valued amenity in all ages up to the present. They also clearly emphasize that the ridge-and-furrow patterns represent the strips of the medieval arable land. Quarrendon, Bucks. (fig. 45), shows a civil war battery overlying an abandoned village site.²

One of the most interesting sections is on the medieval settlement of marginal lands (pp. 91-9), the scattered isolated patches of colonized culti-

¹ *Antiquaries Journal*, V (1925), 432.

² Cf. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, *Castles and Cannon* (1960), 106-7; *Oxoniana*, X (1945), 73-8.

vation up to the east slope of Titterstone clee in Shropshire being beautifully shown in fig. 34. Fig. 36 raises interesting questions covering settlement on the Carboniferous limestone of the Derbyshire Peak district.³ Some types of medieval earthworks have come off badly. A few mottes set in Iron Age hill forts might have appeared, such as Holne Chase, Devon, or the Norman ringwork and medieval boundary ditch impressively set on the Herefordshire Beacon.⁴ Small enclosures are hardly represented, though a number have been shown to be medieval, such as Morgan's Hill,⁵ near Avebury, or Handley Hill, Dorset, excavated by General Pitt-Rivers.⁶ Air photos are not always so successful in presenting town development; sometimes they merely offer an excuse for an interesting explanatory diagram. In other cases, however, the result is magnificent, such as the views including great medieval cathedrals, or those of Berwick-on-Tweed showing the mid-sixteenth-century bastioned defences in the new style imposed eccentrically over the medieval layout. The stimulating account of Wallingford does not discuss, nor does photo nor diagram show, the vital relation between town bank and castle earthworks; that the former is the earlier requires demonstrating by excavation. The book ends with a useful discussion of the nature of medieval roads, showing the way in which traffic on unmetalled roads was forced in bad weather to diverge into parallel tracks as others became impassable; hence the very wide green verges between road hedges.

This most pleasurable survey of medieval England presents it as a whole from quite a new viewpoint, and we should like to look forward to a second and complementary volume from the authors.

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E. M. JOPE

Previous volumes of *Early Charters* emanating from the Leicester University Press have been little more than large pamphlets. THE EARLY CHARTERS OF THE WEST MIDLANDS by H. P. R. Finberg (Leicester University Press: 1961. 256 pp. 50s.) is in a new format and is bound as a book. It covers four counties (Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire and Shropshire), lists all the relevant charters prior to 1066, prints eight texts hitherto unpublished, and ends with thirteen discussions of topics such as the Princes of the Hwicce, and the Ancient Shire of Winchcombe. Mr. Finberg's work is full of original and stimulating ideas, but one is left at the end with the feeling that the book is top-heavy, since there are too many discussions and too few texts. If all the discussions had been combined with editions of the relevant texts, as in the case of St. Mildburg's Testament, the volume would have been bulkier and more expensive, but far more useful to the local (or national) historian.

Merton College, Oxford

R. H. C. DAVIS

LAND TENURE IN EARLY ENGLAND. By Eric John. Studies in Early English History, ed. H. P. R. Finberg. Leicester University Press. 1960. xii + 184 pp. 30s.

Mr. John's book, to be blunt, is not altogether pleasant to read or to review. It is too taken up with the author's disagreements with other scholars,

³ Cf. R. V. Lennard, *Rural England 1066-1135* (1959), 237-41.

⁴ *Archaeol. J.*, CIX (1952), pl. XIII.

⁵ O. G. S. Crawford and A. Keiller, *Wessex from the Air* (1924), 239, pl. XLVb.

⁶ A. Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, IV (1898), 53, pl. 246; the pottery (pl. 246. 9) from in the bank is medieval.

notably with Sir Frank Stenton. Mr. John declares openly that his aim is primarily disputatious (an odd purpose in a book from a university press), and he has succeeded in achieving this aim to the point where his crotchets prevent him from reaping the best results from his labours.

Some interesting points are raised in the book. Mr. John approaches the problem of the nature of bookland and folkland, and attempts to re-open the question of feudalism in England before 1066. His main arguments are: (1) that English book-right, an example of early reception of Vulgar Roman Law, was a royal act in the interest of the individual, granting a *facultas* that involved rights to manumit slaves and to leave a will; (2) that book-right took land into the family not out of it, and that the three reservations (the creation of the Mercian kings) made possible the spread of book-right among the lay nobility who had hitherto held only on precarious tenure; (3) that folkland was land held precariously of the king; (4) that the Worcester re-organisation under Oswald amounted to the clearer definition of a fief, and that the bishop of Worcester, the *archiductor*, was to all intents and purposes a feudal baron; (5) that the hundred was essentially military in origin and nature, from the royal point of view a parcel of twenty thegns for the fyrd; (6) that the accepted view of the Norman introduction of feudal service is wrong, and that Anglo-Saxon thegns were familiar with dependent military tenure hard to distinguish from that enjoyed by their Norman successors.

If Mr. John has his way, much of what has been taken as authoritative since Round wrote will have to be modified. His arguments, however, fail to inspire confidence. For example on the question of bookland and folkland he recognizes (pp. 36-7, and again on p. 52) the importance of the Mersham charter (C.S. 496). If the bookland at Mersham were converted back into folkland there is much to be said for Sir Frank Stenton's interpretation of the transaction, that is to say that the king was indeed compensating himself for the loss of *feorm* and service involved in the booking of land at Wassingwell. Mr. John attacks this sensible observation by asking, rhetorically, if Mersham was ever bookland, suggesting that it might be 'king's folkland'. Yet the charter itself says that Wassingwell, now to be bookland, was to be held eternally free *ab omni servitute regali operis . . . sicut ante fuerat illa prenominata terra* (i.e. Mersham). This is surely a case of barrister's blindness on Mr. John's part, and an indication of the dangers facing the historian who turns himself too easily into an advocate for the prosecution of other scholars.

This instance of a misrepresentation of his sources is not isolated, and on bigger themes, too, Mr. John's arguments carry more force than conviction. He plunges us back into the morass of dispute over feudal origins from which the clear-cut definitions of the past generation have given relief. He summons up his military service at Worcester, his Oswaldslow, his 'shipfuls', his knightly thegns and five-hide units. On the poem of Maldon he is positively misleading, and fails to draw a distinction between the *folk* and the hearth-troop who stay to fight it out alone after the others had fled. It would be interesting to know what Mr. John makes of the earlier passages in the poem where the earl rode about, instructing the men, and drew up the *folk* in proper manner. His evidence is indeed often tenuous and partial, and in relation to his feudal theses it will not support the weight of generalization imposed upon it. A thorough reading of the law-codes of Edgar, Ethelred and Cnut—and of the *Rectitudines* which is curiously ignored in relation to

thegnly service—provides a necessary corrective. If this is feudalism, or even more fantastically 'senescent' feudalism, the term feudal no longer means what historians generally take it to mean.

Among many points that need further investigation before Mr. John's arguments can be fully considered, the following are of particular interest to readers of this journal: that *facultas* (p. 13) does not normally have a technical meaning in Bede's Ecclesiastical History (H.E.2.10 (a papal letter, to be sure); H.E.3.23; H.E.3.24; H.E.4.22; H.E.4.30); that the implication that only holders of bookland had the power to manumit is not supported by the evidence (p. 17); that C.S.241 does not accuse Worcester of holding Ethelbald's inheritance under a lordship that was unjust *because* it was *sine iure hereditario* (p. 47); that it is rash to suggest that *folcscearu* in Beowulf (l. 73) is used in a tenurial sense (p. 53); that it is far from 'plain' that *ierfe* in Ine 53.1 means the 'disputed thrall' (p. 60); that Levison argued in favour of the influence of Aldhelm's style upon C.S.178 (p. 68); that the Worcester provenance of the D text of the Chronicle cannot be fairly termed probable, and that Mr. John's tortuous argument does nothing to weaken the strong case for York (pp. 102-3); that C.S.234 and 847 book land to Bredon (pp. 114-15); that it is again far from 'plain' that, according to *Gēþyncðu*, the service for five hides has 'replaced the *wergeld*' as a criterion for distinguishing thegns from ceorls (p. 123); that evidence of the effect of the introduction of knight service is not as slight as Mr. John appears to think (pp. 152-3).

In some sections of the book there are arguments of interest. Mr. John has observations to make upon the work of Professor Levy on Vulgar Roman Law, though his attempt to establish the influence of such law causes a certain forcing of the Anglo-Saxon evidence to suit his theme. He states a fair case on the introduction of the 'three necessities', arguing that they were imposed piece-meal: bridge and *burh*-service in the reign of Ethelbald and *fyrd*-service in the reign of Offa. Perhaps the view that the charter wording merely defined ancient practice is too lightly discarded, but here at least Mr. John shows a capacity for serious historical argument. More work on Frankish parallels might prove fruitful. On the tenth-century Worcester evidence Mr. John (following his work in the Bulletin of John Rylands Library) corrects the more destructive efforts of Richard Drögereit. He gives a good text of the Altitonantis charter with some comments on its possible diplomatic history. Yet the tone of the book consistently intrudes and jars. Given the choice between a direct statement of a case and an attack on someone else's view Mr. John takes the latter course. This is a book to commend with reservations for its industry and ingenuity, but not for its taste and judgement.

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H. R. LOYN

THE DOMESDAY INQUEST AND THE MAKING OF DOMESDAY BOOK. By R.

Welldon Finn. London: Longmans. 1961. 201 pp. 45s.

Mr. Welldon Finn has long been known as a penetrating student of Domesday problems and he possesses an enviably comprehensive and detailed knowledge both of the official text of Domesday Book and of the texts incorporated in the *Liber Exoniensis*. This knowledge is revealed in the present book, which is an important contribution to its subject because it brings together so many references on such a great variety of topics and also throws out an

abundance of challenging suggestions. But it is a rather exasperating book, for Mr. Welldon Finn is anything but a clear writer and pours forth his facts and his theories with such a crowding impetuosity that the present reviewer at least has sometimes found it very difficult to know precisely what he means, though, on the other hand, he in one place sacrifices exactness to stylistic grace by rendering the *injuste* of Domesday as 'unjustly', 'wrongly' and 'illegally' in two consecutive sentences. One should no doubt regard it as a merit that, after assembling the evidence on both sides of a disputed point, he sometimes refrains from expressing a definite opinion. But on certain important matters he reaches decisions which seem highly questionable. An outstanding case is his championship of the generally discredited opinion of Maitland that the 'manor' of Domesday was 'a house against which geld is charged'. It seems strange to explain the statement that Robert d'Oyley holds forty-two houses in Oxford *pro i manorio* as meaning that 'he pays the geld these owe as a single unit' (p. 73) and to see no difficulty for the theory in the fact that the same Robert holds Hook Norton for three manors (p. 68). We are also told that the preamble to the Ely Inquest, which is generally taken to embody a set of instructions to a group of Domesday commissioners, 'may be no more than an Ely official's memories of them, or in the last resort the deduction of the compiler of the original of the I.E. from the character of the texts he was compiling as to the information then demanded' (pp. 33-4). The only argument advanced in support of this view is the certainty that the 'original returns' contained more than is contained in Domesday Book (Volume 1) and—he must mean—more than is postulated in the Ely preamble. Yet this argument does not support Mr. Welldon Finn's theory, because the chief omitted items—the live-stock figures—are given in the Ely Inquest. Another surprising statement is that 'returns for the fief, if these were in fact prepared, are unlikely to have gone much beyond the name of the holding, its assessment, and a note of any immunity therefrom, and the circumstances of its acquisition' (p. 88). It is true, the text preserved in the Braybrooke Cartulary is very jejune, but the Bath Abbey satellite, which has a better claim to be regarded as an original return for a fief, goes far beyond what is here suggested. One must question, too, the statement that the 'villeins who do not plough' at Claxby and West Wykeham in Lincolnshire are 'specially mentioned because the ordinary villein was bound to help plough his lord's demesne land' (p. 125). It seems more likely Domesday is only telling us that these peasants were without plough-beasts; and, in any case, those at Wykeham are described, not as *villani*, but as *homines* (Dd. I, f. 364). In another place Mr. Finn seems almost to imply that churches and chapels were normally recorded in Domesday Book and ventures on the rash assertion that 'it was essential to record the existence of a new church'. Yet Domesday does not mention the church at Whistley in Berkshire which was founded between 1078 and 1084 and is the only church I know of whose date can definitely be assigned to the decade preceding the Domesday Inquest. And though it is admitted that 'churches are infrequently mentioned in, e.g., Staffordshire, Northamptonshire and Cambridgeshire', this statement is a little misleading in view of the fact that there are fewer references to churches or priests in Oxfordshire than there are in Cambridgeshire.

Several details need correction. By a curious slip *infra metam* is taken to mean 'outside the boundary' (p. 13) although *infra* is contrasted with *extra*

in the very same passage of Domesday Book (Dd. I, f. 373b). Again, the person who was dispossessed of Drayton appears to have been not the 'successor' of Leofwine as he is described, but his sub-tenant (Dd. I, f. 151b). Nor does the text of Domesday justify the statement that Earl Hugh had placed thirty square leagues of wood in his forest 'by which the value of the manors is greatly worsened'. The figure is that given for the whole area of the forest: the amount taken from the manors was very much less (Dd. I, f. 268b).

In spite of its defects the book is one of which all serious students of Domesday Book must take account. Its assemblage of references is of great value and it contains many stimulating suggestions. But there is still much work to be done in the way of textual criticism both of Domesday Book and of its 'satellites'. Mr. Finn has shown the importance for Domesday studies of the section of the *Liber Exoniensis* which is concerned with *Terrae Occupatae*. But the secrets of the Evesham Registers have still to be fully explored, though Mr. P. H. Sawyer has made a good beginning with his careful examination of the text he calls 'Evesham A'. There is, for example, in the same manuscript the puzzling hidation schedule for Gloucestershire which follows the account of the *civitas* of Gloucester and includes that of the borough of Winchcombe. Though closely connected with the Domesday Inquest, there is some reason for thinking that this text was not derived from the Exchequer Domesday; and a feature which deserves attention is the fact that, while it takes the tenants-in-chief in the Domesday order for a considerable run of entries, a group of six tenants (No. 43 to No. 48 in Domesday) are taken in precisely the opposite order. One wonders whether this indicates that the source both of Domesday Book and of the Evesham text was in these cases either a bundle of separate *breves* which had become disarranged when the latter text was compiled, or a roll. If it was a roll, the difference in the order of items might be explained on the assumption that both the Domesday scribe (or more probably the compiler of some 'provincial Domesday' which was his immediate source) and the Evesham scribe unrolled it tenant by tenant for transcription, but that, when it reached the latter, it was rolled in reverse—the end of the roll which had previously been inside being then outside and so the first part to be unrolled. Both the Evesham schedule and the Exchequer Domesday seem to afford a glimpse of one of their sources in the fact that each spells Westbury-on-Trym as *Huesberie*, a form which suggests transcription from a manuscript in which *In uestberie* was so badly written that the preposition was misread as an initial 'h'. The spelling of names in Domesday Book deserves indeed more attention than it has received. I think it was Pollock who suggested long ago that a spelling might reveal the nationality of the scribe; and Ballard's opinion that the Exchequer text was written down from dictation and not directly copied from its sources was based on the fact that the spelling of hundred names often varies considerably. One may even perhaps distinguish some passages that were copied from others that were dictated. When the place-name Heyford, which incorporates the Old English *hēg* (hay), appears as *Hegford*, this suggests copying, while the form *Haiforde* would appear to be a phonetic spelling made by a scribe unfamiliar with the Old English language to whom the passage was dictated.

HUGH THE CHANTOR: THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF YORK 1066-1127.

Edited and translated by Charles Johnson. Edinburgh: Nelson. 1961.
xvii + 138 pp. 42s.

Hugh the Chantor wrote an interesting account of how successive post-Conquest archbishops of York fought to break the primacy of Canterbury which Lanfranc and King William had imposed. The author's name is interesting too. In this edition he is called Hugh 'Sottovagina or Sottewain', which hides the sense. In documents I have noticed the variants 'Sotevagina', 'Sottavagina', 'Soteveim', and 'Sotewame'. The second element is clearly the Scandinavian and northern-English 'wame'—the belly. The all-important adjective is, however, less certain. It could be either the Old-French 'sot', stupid, or the Old-English 'sote', sweet. Neither makes a very complimentary description.

There are various methods—each with its advocates—of editing and translating a text. Mr. Johnson is unobtrusive. The introduction is short and the subject notes are sparse. His aim has been to produce a good clean text, and this he has done successfully. Many manuscript errors have been corrected and I have noticed only three trivial misprints. The translation is clear and idiomatic and sometimes very neat. Although no attempt has been made to give a close rendering of the Latin, the sense is usually conveyed perfectly well. There are, however, a few mistakes and misunderstandings. William of Corbeil, the future archbishop, described as *Dorovernensis canonicus* (of Dover, cf. p. 57), is made canon of Canterbury (p. 50). Who is right, the editor or the translator? The matter is of some importance. Another aberration is making William I threaten Thomas I of York with severe penalties 'unless he, at least, made his profession personally to Lanfranc'. But what the king demanded—and the Latin is quite unambiguous—was that Thomas should make a personal profession at least to Lanfranc (i.e. not necessarily to Lanfranc's successor). This was a real compromise and favoured Thomas, the younger man. Hugh the Chantor, a stickler for form, would not have cared for this perversion.

These few criticisms apart—and he who reads a translation does so at his own risk—we have here a useful addition to this most useful series. It is more profitable for a student of history to study a text than to read half-a-dozen secondary works.

University of Exeter

FRANK BARLOW

KING JOHN. By W. L. Warren. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 30s. 1961. pp. xi + 340, with 8 plates and 9 maps.

In this study of the career and character of King John Dr. Warren tries to bridge the gulf between the expert and the general reader, and he has in a great measure succeeded. A university teacher with learning and a scholar's technique at his disposal, he has read the thirteenth-century sources and most of the modern books and articles about John's reign. It is nearly sixty years since Kate Norgate's *John Lackland* appeared. This book reflects the changes in English historical scholarship since her day and provides an up-to-date substitute for her work. Mr. Warren does not quote, as Miss Norgate did, the judgement of her master, J. R. Green, that John was 'the ablest and most ruthless of the Angevins', but the picture he gives (he abstains from any formal pen-portrait) is of an able and ruthless ruler, energetic, shrewd,

capricious. Although Mr. Warren is at pains (as is usual nowadays) to explode the monastic legend of a monster of iniquity and to differentiate between the sins of John and his shortcomings as king, he shows that the king was sinful and that his sins go far to explain his defects as a ruler. Mr. Warren is no whitewasher. The king, in his view, was largely responsible for his misfortunes. As a soldier he was a better tactician than a strategist, as a ruler he relied on the fear rather than the sympathy of his subjects. These are not revolutionary views, but few, in our state of knowledge, would care to say much more about a complex character. Mr. Warren thinks that John's difficulties were aggravated by the economic effects of inflation and the inadequacy of his administrative staff to deal with his great designs. These propositions are interesting and deserve to be considered. The reign certainly cannot be explained by the king's character alone.

The inherent danger in undertaking the biography of a medieval potentate is that of taking the sources at their face-value: of accepting any nice contemporary tale as true and of treating the routine record as peculiar. If one is going to write a narrative of events, still more if one pretends to any knowledge of the actors' motives, sooner or later a gap in the sources must be covered by a guess. The 'biography' will lose its meaning, and the public will tire if there are no guesses or if the guesses are always qualified with probabilities and perhapses. Mr. Warren is too careful a scholar to be unaware of this danger. In his first chapter he expresses the fashionable disillusionment about the reliability of medieval chroniclers. But he cannot do without them. The stories of the Margam annalist about Prince Arthur's death, and of Wendover about the treasure lost in the Wash, are too good to be discarded; and while the first is said at p. 83 to be 'not improbable', on p. 109 it is stated as a certainty. Still, Mr. Warren is usually cautious in handling the chroniclers. What really fascinates him (as others before him) are the public records. They are, of course, far more copious than before in the reign of John. 'The personality of John [he says] is writ large on the records that survive, and we can get closer to him there than through the pages of any chronicle.' Closer, maybe—it is debatable; but the snippets which are produced to show that the king was a connoisseur of jewels, that he was fastidious in personal cleanliness, that he had a penchant for witnessing judicial duels, that he sent friendly greetings to a chancery clerk on the Patent Roll, all involve straining the evidence intolerably. If these are trivial points, they are just the ones to be remembered by the general reader. More serious is the danger that, because the records, as never before, show the king's government at work, we may overestimate the peculiarity of John's approach to his task as king. Was John, after all, such a prodigy of 'judicial wisdom' as Mr. Warren makes out? But in this as in other interpretations of the records he bears witness to current trends of scholarship: he is supported by the eminent authority of Lady Stenton and Sir Cyril Flower, Professor Galbraith and Dr. Poole, who in their various writings have justifiably reacted against old popular views of King John as 'a bad king'.

Readers will find not the least useful part of the book in the political history and the description of institutions. Mr. Warren makes it all interesting and clear and is generally accurate. He has a good brief passage on John's naval forces (pp. 120-5). It must be noted that the campaign of 1206 in Southwest France is inadequately covered, and that the exiled Langton can hardly

have been responsible for the re-issues of *Magna Carta* in 1216 and 1217. But these blemishes and others of a minor sort do not seriously detract from the value of a scholarly piece of popularizing. The style of writing is always clear. There are a few unfortunate and unnecessary gestures to the 'general public' (King John snorts, William Mowbray simmers with fury, and the barons are sold out); there are also moments of eloquence and some effective phrases; on the antecedents of *Magna Carta* Mr. Warren observes: 'It is possible to reconstruct something of what happened, but it is rather like restoring a medieval wall-painting of which only a few fragments of coloured plaster remain.' It should be added that Mr. Warren makes telling use of quotation from his sources: the letter of the king to his mercenaries in Maine in 1201 (p. 91), the picture of the desolations of war from the history of William Marshal (p. 176), John's complaint to Hubert de Burgh about Stephen Langton (p. 256), are among the less familiar; he also quotes papal letters and prints the entire text of Professor Rothwell's translation of *Magna Carta*.

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C. R. CHENEY

MATTHEW PARIS. By Richard Vaughan. Cambridge University Press. 1958 (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, New Series: Volume 6). xiv + 288 pp. and 22 plates. 42s.

THE CAMDEN MISCELLANY. Volume XXI (Camden 3rd Series XC. London: Royal Historical Society, 1958). xvi + 74 pp. Issued to subscribers only. The Camden Miscellany volume contains two well-edited texts. 'A Journal of Events during the Gladstone Ministry 1868–1874' is an independent, critical and interesting political diary by the first Earl of Kimberley, edited with a valuable introduction by Ethel Drus. 'The Chronicle attributed to John of Wallingford', edited by Richard Vaughan, is the first complete edition of a thirteenth-century Benedictine chronicle of England from Brutus to Cnut. The chronicle is chiefly interesting for the sources used, or not used, for pre-Conquest history by a thirteenth-century compiler; for the compiler's critical attitude towards his sources; and for the fact that it is a St. Albans production, 'written either in the mother house or in one of the cells' in the time of Wendover and Matthew Paris.

In *Matthew Paris* Dr. Vaughan turns from an anonymous to the most famous chronicler of the St. Albans school. He brings together in one volume all that is known of this many-sided man and discusses the matters that are critical for the scholarly use of his works: what is known of his life, his relationship (in a literary sense) to Roger Wendover, the chronology of his writings, and so on. Much depends on the identification of Paris's handwriting: on this Mr. Vaughan sides with Madden against Hardy, a conclusion confirmed independently, it appears, by Mr. R. W. Hunt (*vide English Historical Review*, LXXIV, p. 484). In the recent debate between Powicke and Galbraith, on the date of Matthew's death and on the order of his writings, he sides with Galbraith.

These scholarly questions arise because Paris was a voluminous writer, much given to rewriting. The study of his works is one vast *Quellenkritik* and the farther it goes the less reliable he appears to be. He is a modern discovery—his chief work, the *Chronica Majora*, was virtually unknown before it was published by Archbishop Matthew Parker in 1571—and he has been

overrated. 'Posterity, in fact, has been tricked, rather than instructed, by Matthew Paris; tricked by the scope of his writings and by [his] sententious platitudes . . . into accepting the thirteenth century as he saw it, and into regarding him as the greatest historian of his age, instead of the quidnunc that he was', Mr. Vaughan can write. He was a chronicler with no interest in the past, and even for his own times he is not a good guide. He does not try hard to understand the significance of the events he records or the true motives of those concerned in them. He is an indefatigable collector of news, without the disposition to be impartial in reporting them. He is first and foremost a monk of St. Albans, and then a Benedictine, and then an Englishman; he is temperamentally against authority and averse to novelties, especially in religion. Even when his prejudices do not run away with him, his literary gifts can betray him. He is an artist and for an effect he will touch up anything. He will not let truth stand in the way of a story: if necessary he will tamper with the evidence. We may be as generous as Mr. Vaughan and 'extend to him the licence usually accorded to a journalist' if we add 'without professional standards'.

As Paris did not write for historians, so he did not write (except in the most conventional sense) to the glory of God but from his interest in *la comédie humaine*. He had a keen eye, a love (yes, in his own crusty fashion, a love) of humanity, and presumably a love of writing. Was this his escape? There is little locally or in the larger world that he misses, and we are given anything that interested him: the weather regularly, court gossip, far-fetched rumours from Asia, crossbills eating his abbey's apple crop in 1251. His motto could have been that of the Historical Association, *Whatever men do*. The *Chronica Majora* was written to be read and enjoyed; it can be and should be—if only in translation.

As Mr. Vaughan rightly says, 'Matthew is in many ways much more interesting as a person than he is useful as a chronicler.' But to use him at all with any confidence one must first know the man, and that is the great service Mr. Vaughan has rendered to specialist and general reader alike: on a firm basis of scholarship, and with over forty reproductions of his work, he has assembled the whole man—the man who was monk of St. Albans, artist, hagiologist, versifier, naturalist, cartographer and a 'character' as well as a chronicler.

University of Southampton

H. ROTHWELL

SELECTED DOCUMENTS OF ENGLISH CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY, 1307-1485.

Edited by S. B. Chrimes and A. L. Brown. London: A. and C. Black. 1961. xxiv + 398 pp. 35s.

This volume differs from some other comparable selections in two important respects. Editorial comment is cut to a minimum; and the documents are not grouped under subject-headings but are arranged chronologically. The plan has much to commend it, for the editors are right in thinking that critical commentary on what must inevitably be a limited scale would probably be superficial and soon outdated; and, in an age of shifting institutional boundaries and fluid constitutional definitions, attempts at classification of the material might well confuse, or even mislead, the student. Thus, apart from a concluding Formulary Section giving examples of documents frequently used in the course of the king's government, the texts are set out in chronological

order under the eight reigns of the period and the editors have deliberately omitted certain topics, such as legal history, in order to allow space for printing 'rather fully' material illustrative of the numerous constitutional crises of the age. The result is an admirable conspectus of the main stream of the constitutional history of the later Middle Ages, including, besides the familiar material to be found in parliament and statute rolls and in the chronicles, other valuable documents unlikely to be well-known to students, such as William of Wykeham's letter to the Sheriff of Oxfordshire and Berkshire relating to the payment of wages of knights of the shire, the Issue and Receipt Rolls for 5 March 1371 and some chancery warrants for the great seal (1405).

An obvious objection to the editorial plan is that it entails the omission of several matters of undoubted constitutional importance. Thus, the student will find it hard to trace the development of institutions, most notably of parliament; and, if only by reason of the intensity of the learned passions which it has aroused, it is strange not to find so much as an allusion to the *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum*. The treatment of taxation is not altogether satisfactory. We are given hardly anything on the taxation of the clergy by the king; and both the standardization of the tenth and fifteenth in 1334 and the poll-tax of 1379 are omitted. Moreover, a place might well have been found for the petition for lay ministers of state in 1371 and for the 'impeachments' of the war-captains in 1383, the importance of which has been stressed by Professor Plucknett. On the other hand, despite the admitted ambiguity of the term 'constitutional' in the context of the Middle Ages, the relevance, in a highly selective volume, of indentures for war and retainers is at least open to question. Here and there, a little arbitrary rearrangement of the printed texts (for example, of the first statute of provisors) by breaking them up into paragraphs would have rendered their aspect less daunting and would surely have been a legitimate concession in a work intended mainly for students. But, in the main, the volume must be judged as having admirably fulfilled its purpose and the learned editors have earned the gratitude of both students and their teachers for a selection of documents which supplies a long-felt want.

Westfield College, London

MAY MCKISACK

THE CONSTRUCTION OF GOTHIC CATHEDRALS by John Fitchen (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1961. xxi + 344 pp. 63s.) is a fascinating book. It has been written by an American architect who set out to discover how the medieval masons overcame the practical problems involved in the erection of high vaults. By means of a detailed study of the buildings, he has been able to discover how the scaffolding and centering were erected, and how the vaults were made secure. His book, which is illustrated with many sketches and diagrams, is one which will fire the imagination of the good history student who has just begun to take an interest in old churches. THE GOTHIC by Paul Frankl (Princeton University Press: O.U.P. x + 916 pp. 140s.) is a very different book, being (if I may coin the word) for aestheticians only. It is a study of what has been written about Gothic from the time of Abbot Suger (d. 1151) to the present day, reference being made to some fifteen hundred different writers. The author makes a valiant attempt to discover from these

writings what the essence of Gothic is, but the non-specialist reader may well feel disheartened at the prospect of such a learned marathon.

Marc Bloch's classic *La Société féodale* has been translated by L. A. Manyon under the title FEUDAL SOCIETY (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961. xxi + 498 pp. 50s.). In a short Foreword Professor M. M. Postan justly describes Bloch's book as 'the standard international treatise on feudalism'.

The College of Skara (1292-1435) catered for Swedish students in the University of Paris. Astrid L. Gabriel in SKARA HOUSE AT THE MEDIAEVAL UNIVERSITY OF PARIS (The Mediaeval Institute of the University of Notre Dame, 1960. 195 pp. 30 plates. \$4) describes its history and topography, and prints eighteen documents relating to the house.

EARLY MODERN

L'ÉVOLUTION POLITIQUE DE L'ANGLETERRE MODERNE, 1485-1660.

By Léon Cahen and Maurice Braure. Paris: Albin Michel. 1960. xl + 688 pp. 28.50 NF.

LE TEMPS D'ÉLISABETH. By Roger Chauviré. Paris: Didier. 1960. 339 pp. The first of these books was originally entrusted to Professor Léon Cahen, who left it unfinished at his death in 1944. Now his draft has been revised and completed by Professor Maurice Braure. The result is an uneven book which improves as it goes on. The earlier section, on the Tudors, is certainly disappointing. Hardly any attempt is made to analyse the situation or the problems of the monarchy at the end of the fifteenth century, with the result that the achievements of Henry VII and his successors remain vague. The account of Henry VIII's reformation does not bring out, or even mention, the central importance of the act of appeals. The story of the Elizabethan Church settlement bears no reference to the new interpretation of Sir John Neale, even though his *Elizabeth I and her Parliaments* is mentioned elsewhere in the footnotes. It is striking how often the text seems to lag behind the very up-to-date bibliography: no doubt as a result of the way in which the book was written. The best chapters in the Tudor section are those on social developments, economic policy, and puritanism. Indeed, throughout the book the analytical sections are stronger than the narrative.

The Stuart section is much better than the Tudor; or perhaps one feels it to be so because the competition from the home team is so much less severe. There are some interesting remarks on the influence of continental mysticism and on economic developments in the 1630s; the chapter on the outbreak of the civil war, while showing some awareness of the more difficult problems, skirts round them to provide a competent, though somewhat superficial, narrative; and the volume ends with a sensible commentary on the changes brought about by the English revolution. But one must question whether the restoration of the monarchy was, in 1658, so nearly inevitable as the authors think.

Although there are some references to continental influences and developments, these are on the whole disappointingly few. One hoped for a book

which saw English history in the light of the big European problems, and which was prepared to ask why parliamentary institutions survived in England but not in so many countries across the Channel, why Tudor England escaped the religious wars which tore north-western Europe apart, how England's seventeenth-century revolution compared with its contemporaries in France, Spain, and Naples. But these questions are not posed.

M. Chauviré's volume is very different. A preliminary reconnaissance into the bibliography and the *dramatis personæ* is not encouraging: an unknown author appears, S. T. Binonf; the Duke of Northumberland is executed five years too late; his son commanded the troops at Tutbury in 1588. Nor does the somewhat florid style of the opening chapter much raise our hopes. Yet the book has its value for the English reader. Setting out to provide an image of the age and not a chronicle, the author does succeed in presenting his image from an unusual view-point. It is true that he has not read all the recent monographs: again Sir John Neale's account of the Elizabethan settlement is ignored. But he is widely read in English and European literature, so that allusions and comparisons come constantly to his mind. While showing that the gallery in country houses is a feature peculiar to England, he can yet point to one in Normandy. He can move from bear-gardens to theatres by telling us that the impresario Henslowe and his colleague Alleyn promoted both. He has the intellectual courage to assert, in the face of most English historians, that the Pope was not mistaken in the timing of his bull of excommunication in 1570. Moreover, a foreign view of English government is always useful. To M. Chauviré the Tudor sovereigns were as powerful as the Sultans of Turkey. Their weakness lay only in their title to the throne, which, making them constantly suspicious of usurpation, bathed the English political scene in the blood of pretenders. This ruthless tradition was extended from politics to religion, and England was no more tolerant, no freer from killings than the continent. These charges are not particularly new; and they can mostly be answered. But it does us no harm to hear them from time to time.

University of Manchester

PENRY WILLIAMS

THE TUDOR CONSTITUTION. DOCUMENTS AND COMMENTARY. By G. R. Elton. Cambridge University Press. 1960. xvi + 496 pp. Cloth edition 52s. 6d.; Paper edition 27s. 6d.

This book replaces Dr. J. R. Tanner's *Tudor Constitutional Documents*, now thirty-nine years old, and in doing so provides a useful shock to one who has always regarded 'Tanner' as a good, if old-fashioned, work. For Dr. Elton's energy and efficiency, which have almost gained him a monopoly of 'standard works' on the sixteenth century, have now not only produced an up-to-date commentary but have also revealed many gaps and eccentricities of arrangement in the older book. Under orders to produce a shorter volume than his predecessor, Dr. Elton has omitted many of Dr. Tanner's longer extracts from Colet, More, Starkey, the puritan pamphleteers, and the records of law-courts. Consequently 'Tanner' still retains some independent value, as Dr. Elton himself points out; but for general purposes this new work is a complete and effective replacement. To begin with, it is far better arranged. 'Tanner' was at its weakest on the central institution of Tudor government, the monarchy: a brief section on 'The Foundations of the Tudor Monarchy'

petered out into religious history, and the reader had to search among several later sections for the essential material on this subject. Dr. Elton opens with a new and admirable section on 'The Crown', which includes some especially informative documents on the royal revenues. One wonders, however, whether section four, 'Financial Administration', might not have been grouped with these: the administrative methods of Henry VII, for example, are so closely bound up with the expansion of his revenues that the object of separating the two sections is not wholly clear.

Next, Dr. Elton's commentary is of course far more up-to-date. Readers of his *England under the Tudors* will find that they cannot afford to neglect it, for that book's necessarily general account of constitutional developments has now been supplemented by a detailed summary of modern scholarship. One can see this best, perhaps, in the sections on the Council, the secretary of state, the conciliar courts, and parliament. By bringing together elements which were separated in his earlier work and by giving extensive references to other sources, Dr. Elton shows how our knowledge has developed and what point it has now reached. A comparison between 'Tanner' and its successor shows, for example, the enormous difference which the writings of Sir John Neale have made to our ideas on Tudor parliaments; but it is pleasing to find Dr. Elton attacking the fashionable orthodoxy that Elizabeth was impeccable in her handling of the commons.

Least changed are the sections on the church, local government, and the ancient courts, though the last of these now includes Chancery, which Dr. Tanner strangely omitted. Cromwell, of course, plays a larger part than before in the commentary on the breach with Rome, but the documents are much the same—they could hardly be otherwise, since the great reformation statutes inevitably select themselves. The documents on local government include nothing from local sources; and one wonders whether the ancient courts could not have received a little more attention. But no doubt Dr. Elton was conscious that his space was limited.

His account of the outlying parts of the kingdom can be more severely criticized. He is, of course, entitled to the opinion that 'Ireland under the Tudors hardly comes within the confines of constitutional history'. But it is going rather far to say that the Tudors had only two positive achievements in Ireland—Poynings' Act and Henry VIII's title as King of Ireland: this is to ignore the policy of surrender and re-grant, the creation of the court of castle chamber, the establishment of English control over Irish government finance, and a number of other things. What Dr. Elton says about Poynings' Act rather suggests that he is not too familiar with recent Irish writing on the subject. He also takes a rather old-fashioned view of England north of the Trent. The notion that this was a single, wild, and backward region will no longer do, for the difference between Yorkshire and the borders was probably much greater than the difference between Yorkshire and the Midlands.

Three criticisms may be made of the financial sections. First, the interesting revenue tables on pp. 44–7 may perhaps mislead readers who wish to compare the revenue at the two dates given, since the table for 1600 gives only those revenues which came into the exchequer, while the earlier table gives all revenues. Second, might not a more typical subsidy act have been given? The one printed here is really a poll-tax and is very different from the subsidy acts which appeared later. Third, Dr. Elton suggests that Henry VII's

financial system was jeopardized only because of its personal nature and because of exchequer jealousy. Surely this ignores the very real and bitter hostility to the exactions which that system made possible.

One rather more general comment might be made. Dr. Elton's admirable picture of the structure of government is like a blueprint of a machine at rest. It all looks very smooth and efficient. But in action the engine rattled, laboured, knocked, and shook to its foundations. Could we not have had a little more on the men who ran the machine, on their means of payment, their attitude to their offices, their conditions of service? In other words, could Dr. Elton not take a little more account of the kind of history that is contained in Sir John Neale's *Elizabethan Political Scene* or Professor Hurstfield's *The Queen's Wards*? This might perhaps be regarded by some as poaching beyond the boundaries of constitutional history; but that would only show how restrictive those boundaries are now becoming.

Finally, *caveat emptor*: by some quirk of publishing economics this book costs 25s. more in a cloth cover than in a paper one.

University of Manchester

PENRY WILLIAMS

ELIZABETHAN GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY: Essays presented to Sir John Neale. Edited by S. T. Bindoff, Joel Hurstfield and C. H. Williams. London: Athlone Press. 1961. 423 pp. 50s.

In 1924 a memorable volume was presented to that great master of Tudor studies, A. F. Pollard. A generation later comes a comparable offering to a successor worthy of him in scholarship, personality and inspiration. Sir John Neale has for many years as scholar, teacher and director of research presided with a benevolent but not indulgent paternalism over Tudor studies in this country. His devotion to his chosen period of the first Elizabeth's reign has been remarkably consistent, sustained and single-minded in its adherence to a long-term plan, as the impressive list of his publications bears witness. His classic contributions have made the work of the editors of this volume at once easier and more difficult. Easier because the decision to confine the essays to the Elizabethan age gives them a measure of unity and coherence often lacking in a *festschrift* and because the essayists can 'highlight' the depth and permanence of Sir John's work and the fecundity of his ideas and methods. More difficult because it is no small matter to find contributors who can adequately fulfil the editorial request that each should 'write on an aspect of the period, combining his researches with one or more of its general themes'. All have tried to do so and some have triumphantly succeeded. But it was perhaps inevitable that the editors could not succeed in altogether eliminating the narrowly technical, the dustily prosaic, and the ephemerally light-weight elements which appear to be almost indissociable from a volume of this kind.

The contributors make up a weighty, representative and well-balanced team. Some of Sir John's earlier pupils are now major Tudor scholars in their own right. Dr. Elton, though of the post-war generation, can be considered no less formidable, and the most recent product of the 'stable' shows its continuing capacity to produce thoroughbreds. The many women scholars have two very able representatives, and Ireland, Scotland and Wales are not overlooked. Sir John has long considered Elizabethan studies to be an 'Anglo-American vocation', so it is appropriate that two American scholars,

the one a distinguished elder statesman and the other one of the most accomplished of the younger generation, should have been included.

The contributions cover a catholic range of subjects. The volume fittingly opens with a slight but pleasantly-written essay by Professor C. H. Williams on the Queen's personality as depicted by some major historians. It ends with a brilliant review by Professor Hurstfield of the succession struggle, in which the skilful disentanglement of the Cecil-Essex dissensions is less important than the penetrating *aperçu* of the issues at stake between pro-Spanish and pro-Stuart recusants in England. In between, there are studies of the political, constitutional, legal, administrative, economic, ecclesiastical, military and diplomatic history of Elizabethan England, as well as sidelights on Ireland, Scotland and Wales. Professor Conyers Read characteristically provided a wealth of unusual information about Cecil's part in public relations, though, alas, it might have been said of him as he himself said of Cecil, 'he had no light touch'. Professor MacCaffery has a thoughtful analysis of the rewards in honours, office and favours open to a politically conscious class numbering no more than 2500, and concludes that the system of persuasion and manipulation was successful if at times corrupt. Dr. Blatcher's examination of the writ of *latitat* is a rigorous exercise in legal history which makes few concessions to the reader, while Dr. Elton's account of a protracted squabble in the Exchequer, though not lacking in his customary virtuosity and precision in the use of sources, does less than justice to his talents as a historian. Professor Bindoff, adapting to the Statute of Artificers the same kind of analytical techniques which Sir John Neale applied to the Act of Uniformity, argues convincingly that it consisted of an initial bill of some twenty clauses, to which a further twenty were added, probably as a result of the good sense and initiative of the Commons. The disciplined exuberance of Dr. Hoskins's studies in the social history of Elizabethan towns finds expression in a survey of Exeter merchants, interspersed with illuminating comparisons of conditions elsewhere. Elizabethan Puritans and their plans for a revolutionary take-over bid, a theme much in evidence in Sir John's studies of the Elizabethan Parliaments, are looked at from the standpoint of John Field's career by Dr. Collinson, who contends, with pardonable exaggeration, that Field had it in him to be the 'Knox of a thorough-going English Reformation'. Professor Wernham's splendidly lucid and mature appraisal of Elizabeth's war-aims stresses the Netherlands and northern France as the vital theatres of war and comes down heavily in favour of the Queen's handling of military matters, despite occasional failures and shortcomings. This and Hurstfield's essay were, for the reviewer, the most truly Neale-like contributions in quality.

Professor Dudley Edwards on Ireland and the Counter-Reformation, despite many revealing insights and suggestions, is in general disappointingly opaque and inconclusive, and all Professor Dodd's ingenuity has to be stretched to throw a glimmering of light on Elizabethan Wales in his lively sketch of the career of the London-Welsh merchant, Thomas Myddelton. Dr. Donaldson, however, adds to his recent substantial contributions to Scottish church history with a broad and masterly review of the factors in sixteenth-century Scotland favourable to union: dislike of France, the Reformation, language, literature, education, emigration, trade, law, and antiquarian studies.

In appearance as well as content the book is likely to give delight to Sir John himself and his many admirers. Handsomely bound, well illustrated and attractively printed, except possibly that its margins are a trifle ungenerous, it is a volume worthy of the occasion. It reaffirms the seminal influence of a great scholar on the thinking of his pupils and his fellows. It reveals as an indispensable part of the intellectual furniture of students of Elizabeth's reign the major themes of which he has written with such sureness of judgement, originality of approach and felicity of style. What is established perhaps above all else is the fruitfulness of his delicate sensitivity to the subtle interplay of all the manifold social forces that went to the making of the government of the realm.

University College of Swansea

GLANMOR WILLIAMS

IN ELIZABETH I AND THE RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT OF 1559 (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House. 1960. viii + 182 pp. \$4.95), Carl S. Meyer devotes chapters to Queen, Parliament, Prayer Book, Clergy, Laity, Catholics, Puritans, and the 39 Articles. The book is generally lucidly written, although banalities ('The work of the farmer and the housewife and the miller and the artisan continued with sweat of the brow. So did the ministrations of the Church . . .') mar the chapters on clergy and laity which are, perhaps, the slightest of all. In a book devoted to the changes of 1559, there are certain aspects of ritual and discipline which it is scarcely profitable to discuss—funeral rites and excommunication for instance, when these were inchoate, belonging neither to the Old Religion nor to the as yet undeveloped Anglican Church. If the chapters on the literature of 1559 are markedly superior, it is perhaps because 'The culture of that period was much more ecclesiologically oriented, with strong theological overtones, than is the culture of any country today'. Thus the XXXIX Articles are deftly woven into their theological pedigree. Dr. Meyer also reminds us of the opposition: Archbishop Heath, who thought Elizabeth claimed sacerdotal powers, in which he was less acute than the envoy who described her as 'Governess-General'; Bishop Scot, who observed of Luther's boast that he had learned his objections to the mass from Satan 'at whose hands it is like he did also receive the rest of his doctrine'; Harding's taunt to Jewel, 'How many bishops can you reckon, whom in the church of Salisbury you have succeeded as well in doctrine as in outward sitting in that chair?'—a reminder that acrimonious controversy over Anglican orders flourished from the beginning. Indeed, as Dr. Meyer says, the Anglicans of 1559 were not concerned about the historic Succession: they probably had literally no time for it, and they inherited it, if at all, more by luck than judgement.

University of Leeds

LINDSAY BOYNTON

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THOMAS WHYTHORNE. Edited by James M. Osborn. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1961. lxvi + 328 pp. 45s. In the course of his life, the Elizabethan musician, Thomas Whythorne (1528-1596), was a protégé of John Heywood, intermittently a tutor in the household of the Dudleys, and director of music at Lambeth Palace for three years under Archbishop Parker. Among his achievements was the publication of the earliest extant book of English madrigals and a collection of two-part songs. His autobiography, written about 1570 with the aid of poems com-

posed at key moments in his life, makes disappointing reading. The narrative is frequently sacrificed for the sake of trite theological and philosophical digressions, and is interspersed with a surfeit of proverbs and indifferent didactic verse. The identity of most of the people mentioned is carefully concealed, and there is a frustrating dearth of detail. For example, Whythorne relates practically nothing of his period at Lambeth Palace; and he has little to say about his tour of Europe: his description of Italy is mainly concerned with the scribble he found on a wall and the answer he wrote beneath it. The autobiography has most vitality when dealing with the various women who strived to ensnare him—though unsuccessfully, for he appears to have behaved with the rectitude of a Joseph Andrews. The general impression derived of Whythorne is that of a priggish, ineffectual personality striving to be 'tall by walking on tiptoe'. Nevertheless, the autobiography has many things to offer the specialist, including, for the social historian, aspects of life in Elizabethan households; for the musicologist, notes on musicians and the state of music in the Tudor period; for the literary historian, a vast collection of verse (unfortunately of limited merit) and, more important, a large-scale work in phonetic spelling. Much care and labour have gone into the editing of this book, as evidenced by a meticulously prepared transcript, an ample introduction in which the potentialities of the autobiography are widely explored, adequate notes, and a comprehensive index.

University College, London

A. G. PETTI

SIR ARTHUR INGRAM C. 1565-1642: A STUDY OF THE ORIGINS OF AN ENGLISH LANDED FAMILY. By A. F. Upton. Oxford University Press. 1961. 274 pp. 35s.

'From such friends, good Lord deliver me.' Posterity's verdict on Sir Arthur Ingram has endorsed this pathetic *cri de cœur* of one of his bankrupted business associates. Mr. Upton, who has produced a straightforward and—despite his very inadequate index—useful biography of this unsavoury member of the early Stuart business world, makes no attempt to whitewash his subject. The currently available supplies of historical whitewash would be grossly inadequate to such a task. Even in an age when the particular form of business activity in which Ingram excelled was not distinguished by the moral scruples of its chief operators, his notoriety achieved almost epic proportions. To find parallels for it, one must look outside the world of the City to that of the Court: to a Suffolk or a Bingley, or to the courtly parasites who were to mount the Villiers bandwagon after the collapse of the Howard ascendancy. It was in his unscrupulous dexterity in operating the shadowy and shady machinery which linked these two worlds of Court and City that Ingram was to find his special *milieu*. Rising, like his crony, Cranfield, through aristocratic patronage, his failure to achieve high office cannot be attributed to the fall of his patrons, the Howards—he obtained others afterwards—but to the fact that his reputation was too tarnished for even the Jacobean age to stomach. In fairness, however, it must be said that the motives of the recalcitrant Household officers whose strike against his appointment as Cofferer won the day, even when Ingram's patrons were at the height of their influence, were by no means unmixed. Fortunately, the Exchequer officials were saved from adopting similar measures during the next reign by the failure of the rumour that he was to become Chancellor to materialize. It is doubtful

whether he would have achieved much in this rôle except the lining of his own pockets, for he was no Cranfield. Thriving in an era of royal financial difficulties, of economic controls and administrative incapacity to operate them, his talents were less akin to those of the able and resolute financial statesman than to those which were uncovered in our own day by the Lynskey tribunal. That they require a Tawney to do them full and devastating justice is apparent from the treatment given to identical business operations by both authors. Although Mr. Upton shows scant interest in the general economic background—about which he cherishes some misconceptions—of these operations, or in the nature of the economy which permitted them to flourish, his book deserves to be read widely by all who find in the study of the connections between Court and City important insights into the real nature of both the political and the business life of early Stuart England.

University of Nottingham

ROBERT ASHTON

THE VALOIS TAPESTRIES. By Frances A. Yates. London: Warburg Institute.

1959. xx + 150 pp. 48 plates. £3 10s.

There is preserved, in the Uffizi Galleries at Florence, a magnificent series of eight tapestries depicting Catherine de' Medici, Henri III, Anjou, and other personalities of the French court, against a background of festivals seemingly belonging to the reign of Charles IX. The identification or significance of these personalities and scenes has long constituted a fascinating intellectual puzzle and scholars would have been grateful merely for a sound explanation of their iconographical intricacies, but Miss Yates, in providing the solution, has accomplished very much more. By showing how these tapestries are a propagandist Flemish interpretation of French court festivals she has thrown new light upon the diplomatic relations between France and the Netherlands in the reigns of Charles IX and Henri III and, more important still, has brilliantly evoked the elusive political ethos of the period.

Much of the argument is not conclusive in the sense that it can be proved indisputably, from direct documentary or iconographic evidence, that Lucas da Heere was the artist responsible for designing the tapestries and that William of Orange was the mastermind behind their political symbolism, nor that Anjou is their central political figure representing the Netherlands' hopes of French *politique* aid against Spain, and that the whole series was conceived as a diplomatic gift to Catherine de' Medici to secure her support, and that of Henri III, for Anjou's venture in the Low Countries. Yet these conclusions, reached by a scrupulous examination of all available evidence and of every possible hypothesis and alternative conjecture, are entirely convincing. Slowly, as the book progresses, the argument is built up with a wealth of historical detail, supported by superbly reproduced visual material, until we are made to see that this interpretation is the only one which makes sense of the tapestries' complexities and, moreover, leads to an understanding of the transitory political situation when, through Orange's planning, Anjou stood as representative and hope of the *politique* principle in European affairs. Miss Yates tells us that 'apart from their splendour as unique and original works of art, these tapestries are an historical document of the first importance, recording in the language of festival a lost moment in history'. The significance of her book lies precisely in establishing the Valois Tapestries as valid,

though cryptographic, historical evidence and in the recovery, or rather re-creation, of that remarkable lost moment in European history.

SYDNEY ANGLO

DISCOURSE ON BODIES IN WATER. By Galileo Galilei. Translation by Thomas Salusbury, with Introduction and Notes by Stillman Drake. University of Illinois Press. 1960. xxvi + 89 pp. \$5.

NEWTONIAN SCIENCE. By Arthur E. Bell. London: Arnold. 1961. x + 176 pp. 24s.

The general historian is becoming increasingly conscious of the relevance of the history of science to the studies he traditionally cultivates. Here are two recently published works which may help to introduce him to the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century.

In 1612 Galileo, the pioneer of modern physical science, was impelled by his controversies with Aristotelian adversaries to write a Discourse on the flotation of bodies in water. The historic interest of the work is enhanced by the fact that it contains Galileo's earliest printed reference to the recently discovered sunspots. The Discourse was translated into English, with other scientific classics of the period, by Thomas Salusbury in 1663; but this version has long been exceedingly rare. Now it has been reproduced in facsimile with introduction, emendations and notes by a transatlantic Galilean scholar, Mr. Stillman Drake, thanks very largely to whose labours the principal works of Galileo are now all readily available in English translations.

Dr. Bell's book is a brief but careful study of the origins in antiquity, the fruition in the minds of Newton and his contemporaries, and the development to the end of the eighteenth century of the system of classical physics which, even if now no longer philosophically tenable, has contributed so much to the shaping of the modern world. The author relates the seventeenth-century scientific revolution, particularly in England, to a process of democratization which mobilized intelligence and ability from a wider class than the hereditary aristocracy. And he shows how the essential ideas of Newtonian science moulded life and thought not so much through their direct impact as through their influence upon philosophical writers such as Locke and Voltaire, and through the changes wrought in the human environment by the related technological advances.

University College, London

A. ARMITAGE

The misgivings aroused by the title of D. L. Hobman, **CROMWELL'S MASTER SPY: A STUDY OF JOHN THURLOE** (London: Chapman and Hall. 1961. 186 pp. 21s.), prove to be all too well grounded. This is not a personal biography (for which the materials scarcely exist), nor is it the much needed study of the central administration under the Protectorate which might have been built round Thurloe's career. Mrs. Hobman merely works through the seven printed volumes of Thurloe State Papers, edited by Thomas Birch in the eighteenth century, and boils down a rather random selection of information from them year by year. Much of this, especially the scraps of foreign intelligence, is most unsatisfying without a fuller context than her very limited reading can provide. She seems to have left the mass of unpublished Thurloe papers untouched, and the sources she has used to supplement Birch's

volumes are few and insufficient. She consequently falls into many errors, recounting at length (for example) a long-discredited story of Thurloe plotting with Sir Richard Willys to lure Charles II and his two brothers to England so that they could be assassinated, and giving serious consideration to Pepys's preposterous story that Thurloe spent £70,000 a year on intelligence. She thinks Thurloe was corrupt because he acquired more property than his salary could account for, but the slender positive evidence which she adduces suggests a failure to appreciate contemporary distinctions between presents, gratuities and bribes. Her grasp of the general political situation becomes particularly tenuous after Cromwell's death. Her book is clearly not meant for the specialist, but it can only be misleading and frustrating to the general reader.

University of Leeds

A. H. WOOLRYCH

THE RESISTANCE TO THE MARITIME CLASSES: THE SURVIVAL OF FEUDALISM IN THE FRANCE OF COLBERT. By Eugene L. Asher. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1960. ix + 142 pp. \$3.

This book is of interest to the naval historian because of the light it throws on the attitude of Frenchmen in the maritime provinces to the attempts made by Louis XIV and Colbert to create an efficient manning system for the French navy. It also makes a very valuable contribution to our understanding of France under Louis XIV. Dr. Asher has something important to say. He says it briefly and clearly. What he says will come as a shock to those who still think that Louis XIV had unlimited power. The problem dealt with is that of the extent to which Louis could enforce obedience to an unpopular policy. By making a thorough search of the sources relevant to the operation of the class system for naval recruitment in Provence and Languedoc and by sampling the sources for its operation in other areas, Dr. Asher has built up a picture of the royal authority in action in a particular field. Resistance to it was widespread and tenacious. Some of the resistance, that of naval officers for instance, was selfish. But more powerful than selfishness were an intense regard for local privileges and a strong sense of personal freedom, too strong indeed for Dr. Asher who talks of the seamen's 'exaggerated sense of freedom'. Louis, although sorely tried, respected the opposition. A care for legality tempered both his treatment of deserters and his dealings with opponents in the provincial *parlements* and Estates. If, as one hopes, Dr. Asher develops this promising line of research further, perhaps he will think again about his surprisingly unenterprising conclusion that the main reason for the abandonment of the manning reforms and for the decline of the navy in the 1690s was the king's love of sieges and land warfare.

University of Liverpool

A. N. RYAN

JOURNAL OF JAN VAN RIEBEECK 1659-1662, vol. iii. Edited by H. B. Thom.

A. A. Balkema, Cape Town and Amsterdam. 1958. xviii + 531 pp.

The third volume of this *Journal* brings to an end the detailed account of the daily problems which faced the first Governor of the Dutch settlement at the Cape in South Africa. Once again the story is largely dominated by the troubles with the Kaapmans, who in the previous volumes have appeared as faithless and impossible thieves. In this volume there is an entry under 5 and 6 April 1660 which ruthlessly analyses the grounds for the Kaapmans'

discontent and throws a good deal of none too favourable light on the spirit of the Dutch administration. These natives were not Van Riebeeck's only difficulty. He was also faced with an 'exceedingly execrable and outrageous conspiracy hatched by certain persons against the Company's fortress'. There was the recurrent problem of defence against hostile Hottentots and the 'unpalatable' expense which this involved. On the other hand the fruits of many years' hard work were beginning to appear: wine was first pressed on 2 February 1659, the beginning of what is today the thriving wine industry of the Western Province; the first Dutch rose to be grown at the Cape was picked on 1 November 1659, the first ripe cherry on 13 December; on 25 July 1661 Van Riebeeck and his wife picked the first two lemons of the large St. Helena type (entered in the list of Contents as oranges); on 17 April 1662 were picked the first two ripe Dutch apples. The *Journal* ends with the stark entry of 8 May 1662: 'S.E. breezes. Last night in moonlight the ships *Mars* and *Amstelen* set sail for Batavia'—taking with them Jan Van Riebeeck, his wife and family. The high standard of printing, paper and illustrations is maintained throughout the three volumes. But it is clear from the short introduction that the problem whether Van Riebeeck wrote any or all of the *Journal* himself is still unresolved.

C. R. N. ROUTH

THE ROYAL FUNERAL CEREMONY IN RENAISSANCE FRANCE (Geneva: Droz. 1960. 236 pp. 44 Sw. fr.), by Ralph E. Giesey, sets out to examine the relevance to French constitutional thought of the effigy ritual at the funerals of the French kings. In order to do this the author gives, with contemporary illustrations, a complete account of the funeral of Francis I in 1547 and, in succeeding chapters, examines different aspects of the ceremony in greater detail.

AMBASSADOR FROM VENICE. PIETRO PASQUALIGO IN LISBON, 1501 (University of Minnesota Press: O.U.P. 118 pp. 40s.) is another publication from the rare book section of the James Ford Bell Collection in the University of Minnesota Library, finely printed and bound in a limited edition of 750 copies. Pasquale's formal Latin oration to King Manuel I is here reprinted in facsimile and accompanied by an English translation, introduction, commentary and notes by Donald Weinstein. Pasqualigo's oration is not in itself of great interest and his mission failed in its aim of inducing the Portuguese monarch to give effective aid to the Venetians against the Turks in the Mediterranean. Mr. Weinstein gives a lucid account of the ambivalent relations between Portuguese and Venetians at this period, and shows how their rivalry over the spice trade prevented them from co-operating against the Turks.

IN LA VEUVE BERTON ET JEAN PORTAU 1573-1589 (Genève: Droz. 1960. 126 pp. 32 Sw. fr.) Mlle Droz continues the bibliography of the Protestant printing firms at La Rochelle in the sixteenth century. This is the final volume in the series which began with *Barthélémy Berton* by Mlle Droz and *Les Haultin* by L. Desgraves (*ante*, xl. 265). The output of these otherwise obscure provincial presses is worthy of record as it represents fifty years of Protestant polemical literature during the wars of religion.

MUTINY OFF ALGIERS ON THE GALLEYS CAPITANA AND PATRONA OF THE SQUADRON OF YUSSUF BEY, ROYAL PILOT OF THE GRAND TURK. A.D. MDXC AS RELATED BY GERONYMO BRUN (Oxford: Blackwell. 1960. 83 pp. 30s.), edited and translated by C. V. Malfatti, is a handsome reprint of the unique copy of the *Levantamiento de dos galeras de la escuadra de Yussuf Bey* published at Saragossa in 1590, accompanied by an English translation, and some contemporary Spanish documents which give additional details. It describes how the Christian slaves aboard the two galleys rebelled against their Turkish soldiers and crews, totalling 340 men, all of whom were killed or drowned after a severe struggle in which the victors also suffered heavy casualties. The story given here was told to Brun by Nicholas Rizzo, a twenty-year-old Genoese renegade, who claimed to be the organizer and leader of the plot; but some of the survivors gave the principal credit to another Italian, Oracio Aquaviva, who died of his wounds shortly after the galleys entered Barcelona in triumph.

W. L. Wiley has written an interesting and scholarly study of THE EARLY PUBLIC THEATRE IN FRANCE (Harvard University Press: O.U.P. 1961. xii + 326 pp. 54s.). The period covered is roughly from 1580 to 1640.

LATER MODERN .

During the eighteenth century the Treasury became the most important department of the British government not only in domestic but also in imperial affairs. D. M. Clark in THE RISE OF THE BRITISH TREASURY: COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (Yale University Press: O.U.P. 1961, 249 pp. 40s.) describes the part played by the Treasury in Anglo-American relations from the reign of Queen Anne until the Declaration of Independence. The administrative machinery of the Treasury, together with the aims, extent, and consequences of its policies, are examined in detail and with clarity. The result is a succinctly written book of great importance not only to students of administrative history but also to everyone interested in the constitutional and political history of the period. During the eighteenth century the Treasury and Parliament were closely connected in British politics. Miss Clark shows how each extended its authority in colonial affairs, provoking a reaction which was neither intended nor foreseen. In the age of Walpole the aims of the Treasury were to make the colonies self-supporting, and to keep them dependent upon the Crown. But under the stress of war these aims proved incompatible, and colonial revenues proved insufficient. So Parliament provided increasing funds for military and other purposes in the colonies, and began to reimburse them for defence expenditure. These grants encouraged Parliament after 1763 to seek in return a larger financial contribution from the colonies; and George Grenville, 'a man in a hurry', obtained statutory authority for changes of policy towards them, which the Treasury helped to prepare and tried to enforce. The result was a bitter struggle in America against the Treasury and Parliament, which ended in the defeat of both. The book ends with a discussion of the original sources used throughout.

University of Durham

K. L. ELLIS

Dr. V. H. H. Green's agreeable study of **THE YOUNG MR. WESLEY** (London: Edward Arnold. 1961. viii + 342 pp. 35s.) does not claim to break much new ground, though it makes use of portions of John Wesley's diaries which have received little attention and are at present being prepared for publication. The ground was nevertheless worth ploughing over again, for the intrinsic interest of the subject has been enhanced by new work on almost every facet of the background, on the church and its theology, on the University of Oxford, on the Moravians, and so forth. Dr. Green has skilfully deployed the new material, and has incidentally added another study of the history of Lincoln College to those he gave in *Oxford Common Room*. He argues that neither the college nor the university was as bad as they have been painted and the information which he collects about Wesley's labours and reading as a tutor has more than biographical value. John Wesley is presented as a conventional high churchman in theology and outlook, with much of his father's obstinacy and his mother's determination to bend others to his will. The Epworth family circle remains as interesting as ever, curiously modern in its spectacle of a clerical poverty springing less from an inadequate income than from insistence upon expensive education for the children, curiously remote in the case of Susanna, masterful and competent, spiritually wise and yet so unwilling to let her children go that scarcely one could make a successful marriage. Wesley himself (not to mention his deplorable brother-in-law Westley Hall) had some difficulty in distinguishing sex and salvation, and Dr. Green writes entertainingly of his innocent and inconclusive affairs, drawing a veil only over that with Sophia Hopkey in Georgia. As Wesley's sense of vocation grew, however, he disentangled himself from these as from other diversions of his youth, and grew gradually into the restless worker, always anxious to be about his Lord's business, remembered by Dr. Johnson. Almost inevitably, after showing how much of the mature Wesley derived from Epworth and Oxford, Dr. Green (like some Moravians) is disappointed by Wesley's conversion. Yet in a real sense the conversion made all the difference. There is a great gulf between the conscientious but ineffective don and the prophet of the revival, between the young priest who (in terms reminiscent of Keble) thought the cure of even a hundred souls too great a burden for one man, and the father in God who created a system of pastoral oversight for thousands of class members and for hundreds of preachers vastly more efficient than that of parish and diocese. Yet even here, as Dr. Green would reply, the Christian perfectionism and the appeal to antiquity go back to his earliest days.

University of Manchester

W. R. WARD

TWO EARLY POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS, THE QUAKERS AND THE DISSENTING DEPUTIES IN THE AGE OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE. By N. C. Hunt. Oxford University Press. 1961. xvi + 231 pp. 30s.

Dr. Hunt has made an extensive study of the manuscripts at the Library of the Society of Friends, the records of non-conformity at the Guildhall, London, and Dr. Williams's Library, and the pamphlet literature of the period, and has produced a very detailed and interesting account of the political activities of the Protestant dissenters in the early eighteenth century. Both the Quakers in their campaigns for a satisfactory Affirmation Act and for their Tithe Bill, and the Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists in their

combined campaign for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, evolved a highly efficient and very modern organization for marshalling all their resources to bring pressure to bear upon Parliament. In each case a central body—the Quakers' Meeting for Sufferings, and the Dissenting Deputies—collected information from the counties, published pamphlets setting out their case, lobbied 'persons of note' and members of Parliament and organized the sending of letters to members by their constituents. It is, moreover, interesting to note that by the 1720s and 1730s the leaders of these organizations were fully aware of the futility of attempting to bring their case before Parliament if 'persons of note' (which generally meant Walpole himself) were opposed to the attempt being made. Dr. Hunt's researches have incidentally corrected two general misconceptions: that the Quakers' sufferings from their conscientious refusal to pay tithe were great and widespread; and that the Indemnity Acts afforded adequate protection for dissenters who accepted offices and were not prepared to be occasional conformists. Quaker propaganda has been taken too much at its face value, and the limitations of the Indemnity Acts have not been generally appreciated. A vivid picture emerges of Walpole's political dexterity and his tact and skill in handling people; and if Dr. Hunt's enthusiasm for his subject has perhaps sometimes led him to exaggerate the constitutional significance of these early political associations, his book makes a valuable contribution to the political history of the age of Walpole by providing further evidence that the manipulation of patronage was not the only means by which the great minister kept himself in power and maintained the stable government so much needed by the country at that period.

University of Birmingham

MARY RANSOME

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF EDMUND BURKE, vol. iii, JULY 1774–JUNE 1778.

Edited by George H. Guttridge. Cambridge University Press. 1961.
xxvi + 479 pp. 8s.

Two main themes run through this third volume of Burke's correspondence: the conflict with the American colonies, and the affairs of Burke's constituency of Bristol. Of the total of just over 300 letters, excellently edited by Professor Guttridge, nearly 230 were written by Burke: of these about eighty are printed for the first time, and there are important additions and corrections to the texts of sixty others formerly published in the 1844 edition. Of letters to Burke the most substantial and interesting series consists of those from his patron and political leader, Lord Rockingham, which are printed almost entire (most of them for the first time). Throughout the period Burke was deeply involved in the parliamentary opposition to the North ministry's American policy. Before the end of 1774 the incapacity (soon to be followed by the death) of William Dowdeswell added to his responsibilities as a spokesman for the Rockingham party. While little is added to our knowledge of Burke's views on the colonial question, there is much material bearing upon his rôle in his party, upon his relations with Rockingham, and on the reactions of the party at successive stages of the Anglo-American crisis. Next to the correspondence with Rockingham, Burke's letters to his devoted Bristol supporter, Richard Champion, constitute the second most important series in this volume. In October 1774 Burke became member of parliament for Bristol, and the letters to Champion, and to other leading local figures, throw

light, not only on his general views of the political situation, but on the state of Bristol politics, on his concern with the commercial interests of his constituents, and on the uneasy relations with them which were exacerbated in the spring of 1778 by his strong stand in favour of relaxing the trade restrictions upon Ireland. While the surviving correspondence presented here is predominantly political, a more personal note is struck in occasional letters to his cousin, Garrett Nagle, and his friend, Charles O'Hara (who died in February 1776), and cultural interests are fleetingly represented in isolated letters to artists and scholars.

University College, London

IAN R. CHRISTIE

THE RADICAL DUKE: THE CAREER AND CORRESPONDENCE OF CHARLES LENNOX, THIRD DUKE OF RICHMOND. By Alison Olson. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1961. 262 pp. 35s.

Mrs. Olson has provided a concise informative account of the career of this minor politician, a one-time associate of the Marquis of Rockingham and later a cabinet minister under William Pitt. Richmond was industrious and became fluent with both tongue and pen: over 1000 of his letters survive, preserved in the collections of people to whom he wrote. Nevertheless some limitations have been set by lack of material. Unfortunately Richmond's own papers have almost all disappeared. The absence of letters to him has made more difficult the task of assessing his relationships with such contemporaries as the Duke of Newcastle, Rockingham, Shelburne, and Pitt, who, at different times, were among his more regular correspondents. Other limitations arise from the character of the subject himself. Richmond was a man of energy and intelligence. But his mind had been poorly trained, his bouts of activity were not sustained, and defects of personality—he was impulsive, tactless, and hyper-sensitive—led to political frustration on a number of occasions. Though a person of some prominence, he never attained the front rank in politics. The hundred or so pages of biography in this volume are about as much as he deserves. Mrs. Olson has traced his political relationships with diligent care, in the process contributing some useful detail to the general political history of the period. She has not attempted to examine his work at the Board of Ordnance, a task which requires a separate major piece of research by a scholar prepared to become well-versed in eighteenth-century military administration. The second part of this volume presents a small selection (rather over fifty) of Richmond's letters, chosen out of those not hitherto published as particularly illustrative of his career and his moods and interests.

University College, London

IAN R. CHRISTIE

NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY RUSSIA. By Hans Rogger. Harvard University Press: O.U.P. 1960. viii + 319 pp. 54s.

Dr. Rogger's book suffers from two serious limitations: the period under consideration is confined to the last three-quarters of the eighteenth century and the subject matter is restricted to the ruling class. In consequence the crucial reign of Peter the Great is omitted from the discussion and the national awareness of his successors as well as that of the common people are mentioned only in passing. The material used throughout is, by and large, literary rather than historical. These drawbacks apart, there still remains a

conscientious and reliable collection of valuable and hitherto scattered information. In clear and precise terms Dr. Rogger writes in turn of the xenophobia resulting from the government of foreigners in the reign of Anna Ivanovna, of the shift, under Elizabeth and Catherine, of national feeling from politics to everyday life, morals and culture, of the controversy accompanying the formation of the literary language (used as much, in poetry, for the expression of patriotic as of amorous sentiment), and of the discovery of the Russian species of the noble savage—the *muzhik*. The most important and revealing chapter is the one devoted to the 'uses' and, indeed, the abuses of history, for the sake of bracing up the national ego. What innocent with an interest in the early history of Russia would expect to find autochthonists and anti-Normanists at one another's throats 200 years ago? And lastly the Russian Soul is shown, emerging in its rudimentary form, projected by a nation in search of an ideal image of itself.

Though the author very properly refrains from pointing to analogies with the present day, his investigation brings home to the reader the deep-rootedness and enduring motive power of Russian nationalism. The reader will also realize that Chaadaev's *Lettre philosophique* of 1836 likened by Herzen to a shot fired into the night was in reality a signal for the reopening of a dormant controversy.

Christ's College, Cambridge

L. R. LEWITTER

THE CALAS AFFAIR; PERSECUTION, TOLERATION AND HERESY IN 18TH-CENTURY TOULOUSE. By D. D. Bien. Princeton University Press: O.U.P. 1960. ix + 199 pp. 32s.

This is a good book, solidly founded upon a careful knowledge of the manuscript and printed sources, well constructed and, in general, well written by an author whose interesting approach to the Calas affair has necessitated the detection of fine nuances in the source material. For Dr. Bien has not been concerned to discuss yet again the unlikelihood of Calas' guilt, but to use the trial and its records to elucidate the various components of anti-Protestantism, to explain their origins and why, after years of quiet, this ugly episode suddenly occurred, to be followed by a renewed toleration—but one now based upon 'doctrine' and not upon mere 'indifference'.

Of this 'new toleration' the author provides a less detailed analysis than one had hoped after reading the other more thorough chapters in which he describes the fact of 'toleration by indifference', while reminding us of the existence of a latent anti-Protestantism founded in historical memories of the religious wars, the revolt of the Camisards and in the association, thus, of Calvinists with anti-patriotism and with 'the very principle of social disintegration'. In the winter of 1761-2 certain specific 'extraordinary conditions' occurred which exasperated Catholics, stimulating this latent hostility with the result that Calas came to be seen—and therefore broken—not as a suspected murderer but as the evil spirit of Protestantism incarnate. These included uneasiness in a time of unsuccessful war and of high prices and, especially important, fears of a Calvinist plot sparked off by events at nearby Caussade, events which led to the trial at Toulouse of the supposed ringleaders at the very time when Calas lay awaiting judgement. These conditions formed the subject of Dr. Bien's article published *ante lxiii* (1958); its readers, and indeed all students of the eighteenth century and of persecution

in any century, will now welcome his monograph on this hitherto imperfectly, and often improperly, understood affair.

University of Sussex

MAURICE HUTT

E. E. Y. Hales in **REVOLUTION AND PAPACY 1769-1846** (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1960. 320 pp. 30s.) discusses the pontificates of Clement XIV, Pius VI, Pius VII and with less emphasis, those of the three Popes who succeeded each other between 1823 and 1846. He writes the history of the Papacy from its suppression of the Jesuit order to its condemnation of Lamennais' views. The reader is invited to observe the Papacy, as with greater or less consistency, resolution and success, it endeavoured to avoid extremes of left and right, sought to preserve its political neutrality against the princes of the Enlightenment, Napoleon and the rulers of the Restoration, and even keep its political freedom in combating the secret societies of the early nineteenth century. There was greater constancy, despite its fluctuations, in Papal policy than consistency of meaning in the word 'Revolution' of the title. Mr. Hales's is a wholly political narrative, concerned with the rise and fall of Papal power, on a secular basis, as individual Popes and their advisers made their mistakes or won their victories. The narrative moves quickly and easily: movements of thought and irreconcilable conflicts of loyalties are described in a summary way and no attempt is made to suggest their power to stir spiritual or intellectual depths. It is a plain statement, for the layman rather than the scholar, of events: what happened when Clement XIV was faced with the prince's claim to complete power in his state; how the Papacy responded to the appearance of the revolutionary governments in the Italian peninsula; how it happened that Pius VII made terms with Napoleon in 1801 and fell victim to his ruthlessness in 1809-10; and how it came about that by 1848 the age-old conflict between political good and evil had been restated as a struggle between anti-liberal and liberal.

Somerville College, Oxford

AGATHA RAMM

GUINNESS'S BREWERY IN THE IRISH ECONOMY 1759-1876. By Patrick Lynch and John Vaizey. Cambridge University Press. 1960. viii + 278 pp. 35s.

Almost overnight the brewing industry has changed from a neglected to a well-documented one. To supplement P. Mathias, *The Brewing Industry in England*, we now have a study of a brewery in Ireland, whose history is appropriately set in a concise study of the Irish economy. On the basis of a brief experience as a country brewer, the first Arthur Guinness took over the brewery in St. James's Gate, Dublin, in 1759 and so founded the business which, to the outsider, has become virtually synonymous with Irish brewing. The early years of the firm were unspectacular and not till 1810 did Guinness, with a production of close on 60,000 barrels, become the leading brewer in Dublin. Growth was then checked for about twenty years and recovery came in the late 1830s but rapid expansion dates from the mid-century. Between 1850 and 1876 sales rose from 100,000 to 779,000 barrels, where the story told in this volume ends on the verge of even greater things. This business was the creation of the Guinness family, particularly of the second Arthur Guinness (1768-1855), ably abetted by their agents in Bristol, Liverpool and

London. As business-men the Guinesses were not narrow, aggressive, single-minded or notably thrifty. The brewery was their chief concern but self-indulgence was a Guiness characteristic. Their most important business quality was their capacity to select able executives, to trust them and treat them well. As Lord Iveagh is reputed to have said: You can't expect to make money out of people unless you are prepared to let them make money out of you. Obviously hampered by a lack of business records, this book, with its somewhat disconnected treatment of the main story of the growth of the firm, is longer than the evidence warrants. But the authors are to be commended for making such a competent book with so little straw, and Guiness Son & Co. are to be applauded for employing academic writers rather than publicity men to write their history. We look forward to the second volume which is to be written by Professor S. R. Dennison and Dr. Oliver MacDonagh.

University College of Swansea

W. E. MINCHINTON

THE STRUTTS AND THE ARKWRIGHTS 1758-1830. By R. S. Fitton and A. P. Wadsworth. Manchester University Press. 1958. 360 pp. 35s.

Jedediah Strutt of South Normanton in Derbyshire lives in the annals of the Industrial Revolution as the inventor of the machine for making ribbed stockings which revolutionized the hosiery industry. As Arkwright's partner he played a leading rôle in creating the factory system in the cotton industry. Some of the mills he built are still in being. His business has found its way into the ownership of the English Sewing Cotton Company and it was their management which first brought to light the records on which this study is in part based. They are too patchy to allow of a systematic study of the businesses concerned but the authors have used them to give a detailed social picture of this early modern industry. What sort of men (they ask) came to the top in the industrial expansion? What sort of life did they lead? What view did they take of their responsibilities?

The result is a fascinating miscellany of information. Here are the windy sighings of the amorous young wheelwright to his love; a contemporary description of Arkwright—'very capital in Bleeding and toothdrawing'—doing tricks with scissors and pasteboard and 'a Hundred curious knackey things that one cannot find words to explain'; 'North Britons with Bagpipes' arriving at the Derby factory, dancing with joy on obtaining work; details of working conditions, cotton supplies, and the constructional novelties of the mills, including the famous 'Round Mill' at Belper. This was divided into eight segments and is strongly reminiscent of Jeremy Bentham's *Panopticon* designed to enable an inspector placed at the centre to supervise, like a Supreme Being, not only prisons but madhouses, schools and factories. And were not the Bentham's and the Strutts friends? Alas! the authors soberly judge its purpose to have been, more probably, merely precaution against fire.

Structurally, the book is reminiscent, both in its virtues and vices, of the classic work on the cotton industry of which the late A. P. Wadsworth was also joint author. Here, to an even greater extent than in the earlier book, the duty to record seems to take priority over the duty to explain and guide. One would like to agree with the attractive suggestion that 'the broader purpose of economic and social history can be almost as well served by the study of love letters as by ledgers'. But the attraction grows thin when the reader is

left to pick his way through page after page of close print filled with distracting if engaging social trivia in, for example, a chapter headed 'In Search of Capital'. The story of the business development might have been clearer if much of this marginal information could have been relegated to the appendices.

Jesus College, Cambridge

CHARLES WILSON

PRESS AND PEOPLE, 1790-1850. By Donald Read. London: Arnold. 227 pp. 30s.

Local newspapers in the eighteenth century were mainly the offshoots of printing businesses, advertisement sheets garnished with tit-bits of national and local news, making little claim to distinctive character or political influence. In the early nineteenth century they became organs of opinion. Dr. Read studies this change in the three towns of Manchester, Leeds, and Sheffield. Radicals generally initiated it, Tories were compelled to follow suit, and the argument that ensued both gave evidence of the awakening political consciousness of the new industrial propertied class that was to be given the franchise in 1832, and provided much of its political education. Less spectacular than the mass agitations for reform which come into all the textbooks, this development of informed and responsible opinion was intrinsically more important, and well merited study.

It is a pity, therefore, that Dr. Read did not include other towns so as to present a study of the growth of middle-class opinion in the industrial north as a whole. It must also be said that his story, both of newspapers and of towns, is split up in a way that makes it difficult to follow. But he has much to tell us of the legal and practical difficulties of newspaper production in an age of stamp duty, advertisement duty, paper duty and hand presses, and of the modest beginnings of great papers. A capital of £1000 and the prospect of a circulation of 1000 sufficed to launch the *Leeds Mercury* and the *Manchester Guardian*. His detailed study of the attitude of each paper to questions of the day annotates some valuable points—the popularity of Huskisson in the north, the general readiness to accept compromise on Free Trade and the Corn Laws, the wide following Peel acquired, and the responsible attitude that the greater papers took to questions of local sanitary reform. The working together of economic interests and the attitudes born of business experience with older traditions and new ideologies produced complex, and sometimes unexpected, patterns.

University of Exeter

W. D. HANDCOCK

BELFAST AND ITS CHARITABLE SOCIETY. A STORY OF URBAN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT. By R. W. M. Strain. Oxford University Press. 1960.

333 pp. 45s.

The author's claim that his book 'reflects not only the local history of Belfast, but a social evolution common to most of Britain' is amply substantiated in this vivid and well documented study, though most towns were not as fortunate as Belfast seems to have been in this respect. When its Charitable Society was first conceived in 1752 Belfast was a town of about 8500 inhabitants, and had little machinery for dealing with poverty and destitution. The Charitable Society, like the Charity School movement of a rather

earlier period in England, is a massive illustration of the practical philanthropy of the merchants and middling sort of eighteenth-century Britain. Its original purpose was to set up a small infirmary and Poor House containing 50 beds, and this, after many difficulties, was finally opened in 1775. It is interesting to trace the stages by which these activities were extended and adapted to meet new pressures. It was soon found that the payment of small sums as outdoor relief was useful, when well regulated, in preventing economic collapse, and that a little timely help was often more effective than waiting to take people into the Poor House when they became destitute. Gradually attention was shifted from the adult poor to the children, increasing numbers of whom were taken into the Poor House. There, unlike the experience of many English incorporations for the Poor, they seem to have been carefully trained, and great attention was paid to their subsequent welfare when they were bound out as apprentices. Mr. Strain claims that it was from the Society's Poor House that the nucleus of the Belfast cotton industry first developed: a much more effective use of pauper labour than most English workhouses of the period achieved. In some ways even more interesting is the fact that, partly as a good work and partly as a source of revenue, from 1795 to 1840, the Charitable Society was responsible for supplying Belfast with water. The details of its difficulties and achievements make fascinating reading, particularly to anyone familiar with Chadwick's *The Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population in 1842*. Another enterprise that would have appealed to him was the provision of a new burying ground when the older one became overcrowded and insanitary. Then gradually the activities of the Society contracted again, as the Poor Law authorities and other bodies took over responsibility for many of the social needs of the growing population, until today it is once again concerned only with a small number of sick and aged poor.

University College, Cardiff

D. MARSHALL

MARSHALLS OF LEEDS, FLAX-SPINNERS, 1788-1886. By W. G. Rimmer. Cambridge University Press. 1960. 341 pp. 42s.

This is a business history of an unusual kind. Many histories of firms describe unrelieved success and are a little boring; but Marshall's of Leeds was an enterprise which was first an immense success and then a crashing failure. Its history raises all the questions which go with such a contrast. Then again some business historians isolate business from the general economic and social history of the country. Dr. Rimmer sees the business man as someone who has not only to run a business undertaking but also to live in a given society. He has tried to put the Marshall family firm in its social setting and a very curious story it makes.

Down to the eighteenth century, flax-spinning in England as elsewhere in Europe was a peasant industry. But early in the century the industry began to show signs of rapid growth, due to the combined influence of a rising demand, increased imports of flax and legislative protection. John Marshall, a Yorkshireman born at Yeadon, a village in the foothills of the Pennines, near Leeds, was the most important of the men who put the power-spinning of flax on its feet in the final years of the century, not very long after mechanical cotton-spinning had been established. During the war years 1792-1815, he made an enormous fortune, partly by the rising efficiency of his methods

but even more out of war-prices, which were immediately passed on to the consumer and which in any case rose faster than wages, and out of his speculative skill in the raw flax market, which was disorganized. Becoming one of the richest men in England, a Unitarian turned Benthamite and Whig, he purchased a country house in Cumberland and set about introducing his family to county society. This, of course, was a mistake. County ways, leisurely visits to the Continent, seats in Parliament, and close application to business in Leeds did not mix. So long as John Marshall was about, and he was dominant in the business until his death in 1846, the firm held its position; it was at one time the largest flax-spinning enterprise in Europe. But the younger generation had neither his talent for administration nor his flair for speculation; besides, their personal interests lay increasingly elsewhere, although they do not appear to have distinguished themselves in any particular line. After a long period of increasing difficulty, the grandsons closed the firm down in that year of bad trade, 1886.

It is a record which could be paralleled elsewhere, at least as regards the social influences at work, but it is interesting to see it drawn out for a business so large. Dr. Rimmer has traced the story in detail and clearly. If it lacks variety and warmth, this is partly due to John Marshall's character. An uncommon man, of cold, strong judgement and moralizing air, he was in many ways characteristic of his times, but certainly no figure of romance.

University of Birmingham

W. H. B. COURT

FEARGUS O'CONNOR, IRISHMAN AND CHARTIST. By Donald Read and Eric
Glasgow. London: Edward Arnold. 1961. 160 pp. 21s.

It may appear surprising that the first full-length biography of the central personality in the Chartist Movement should occupy no more than 160 pages. Part of the explanation undoubtedly lies in the authors' wise decision to compress the story of the Chartist Movement, which is already well-known in outline. In doing so they may have sacrificed colour which would have appealed to the general reader, but they have achieved a compactness which will be welcomed by the harassed teacher. Their book adds to our knowledge in two respects. In the first place it tells us a good deal more than we knew previously about O'Connor's early life in Ireland. Secondly, and this is more important, it calls attention to a neglected aspect of the Chartist Movement. Chartism has usually been depicted as a class-conscious movement of the English working class. The authors demonstrate that O'Connor always aimed at something wider—an alliance of English working men, Irish peasants and Irish immigrants resident in Great Britain—and that for a brief spell in 1848, when a section of the Irish Confederate party made common cause with the Chartists in its quarrel with the British government, his dream approached realization. The book is substantially reliable, though there are a few misleading allusions to persons and events peripheral to the main theme. Cobden would not have agreed with Peel 'that the masses were too ignorant to be trusted with political power'; his pronouncements on democracy were more guarded (see Morley, *Life of Richard Cobden*, 14th ed., pp. 127-8). Nor can the National Union of the Working Classes be equated simply with the Lovettite artisans. The reference to the Birmingham riot of 4 July 1839 is one-sided. The only serious weakness, however, is the concluding chapter,

for the arguments advanced there in extenuation of O'Connor's vain bid to stampede the authorities by threats of violence in 1838-9, 1842 and 1848 are unconvincing. This biography supplies no good reason for revising the traditionally unfavourable verdict upon its subject; it is nevertheless a valuable contribution to our understanding of the man and the movement which he led.

University of Southampton

F. G. MATHER

L'ALSACE AU DÉBUT DU XIXE SIÈCLE. ESSAIS D'HISTOIRE POLITIQUE ÉCONOMIQUE ET RELIGIEUSE (1815-1830). III.—RELIGIONS ET CULTURE. By Paul Leuilliot. Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1960. 532 pp.

Three-fifths of the last volume of M. Leuilliot's notable study of Alsace under the Restoration are devoted to two fundamental subjects which further illustrate the diversity of this frontier region. 'In Alsace', wrote Paul Appel in a book of recollections published in 1923, 'people are religious, the free-thinker is almost unknown; men are Catholics, Protestants or Jews.' So it was a hundred years earlier. Intermingled with the Roman Catholic majority, who were led by three very different bishops of the new see of Strasbourg and by an often turbulent clergy, there were vigorous Protestant communities, numbering some 180,000 Lutherans and 25,000 Calvinists. In addition there were perhaps 30,000 Jews, politically negligible, but economically significant and often correspondingly detested. These groups all had their problems into which M. Leuilliot enters with customary and sometimes confusing attention to detail. The Catholics were preoccupied among other things by the question of purging the Constitutional clergy, who still occupied many pulpits and presbyteries at the outset of the Restoration, by the shortage of priests, by feuds with the University, by conflicts of Gallicans and Ultramontanes and by the rival manifestations of missionaries and Liberals. The Protestants, with their Lutheran strongholds at Strasbourg, the faculty of theology and the Gymnase, were stirred by several movements, by the spread of Bible Societies, in which John Owen who visited Alsace in 1818 played a part, and by various forms of revivalism and mysticism which were given impetus by such diverse personalities as Oberlin and Madame de Krudener. Moreover, there was a constant rivalry between Catholics and Protestants, sometimes intellectual and proselytizing in character, sometimes concerning the use or possession of buildings. This rivalry was naturally enough reflected in education, especially at the University level, where M. Leuilliot regards it as the dominant theme of the period. In secondary education, where schools varied greatly in size and efficacy, perhaps the most notable achievement was the creation in Protestant Mulhouse of the schools of drawing and chemistry which were 'destined to the most splendid future down to our own days'. In primary education the Lancastrian system had a considerable vogue in the early '20s and, despite the lack of funds for building schools and paying masters, the situation in Alsace was better than in many other parts of the country; this was partly due to the healthy rivalry between confessions. Linguistic rivalry was subordinate to religious. The language problem was one which men had long been aware of and which created difficulties in daily life, for instance in litigation, but it was not yet acute. What stands out is the slowness of the progress of French in a land where German was almost

everywhere the language of religious instruction, but where there was a distinguished bilingual culture among the urban bourgeoisie.

The remainder of the book consists of a brief conclusion, nearly 140 pages of bibliography—further witness to the author's immense and laborious erudition—a general index of names and, finally, two maps, one of the Bas-Rhin and one of the Haut-Rhin, reproduced from volumes by J. F. Aufschlager published in 1826.

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

J. P. T. BURY

NICHOLAS I AND OFFICIAL NATIONALITY IN RUSSIA, 1825–1855. By N. Riasanovsky. Univ. of California Press: C.U.P. 1960. viii + 296 pp. 40s.

'What reward does our August Monarch deserve for these glorious deeds of his?' asked a school textbook of history current in Nicholas I's reign; and the correct answer, in Mr. Riasanovsky's translation, was 'the astonishment of all the ages'. Nicholas I enjoyed a longer reign than any other nineteenth-century Tzar. His reign coincided with the period of reaction after the ferment and disturbances of the Napoleonic era, culminating in the Decembrist risings, which coincided with his enthronement. His consistent purpose was to prevent anything new, and therefore dangerous, from being done or thought. It is his success in achieving this purpose which merits the astonishment of posterity.

Mr. Riasanovsky has made the mistake of starting with two long chapters devoted to the personalities of Nicholas I and his leading ministers and advisers. The research which has gone into the work is exemplary both in quantity and quality. But a picture of total nullity can hardly fail to be dull; and only the persevering reader will be tempted to go on to the study of 'Official Nationality' which forms the core of the book. This clumsy phrase ('Nationalism' would surely have been a happier rendering) designates the official ideology of the reign, summed up in the famous phrase of Uvarov, Nicholas's Minister for Education from 1833 to 1849, as 'orthodoxy, autocracy and nationality' (or 'nationalism'). Mr. Riasanovsky calls these 'ideas', but they were in fact, as his patient analysis shows, 'anti-ideas'. Uvarov himself described them as 'intellectual dams', designed to 'push back Russia some 50 years from what is being prepared for her by the theories'. The only one of these 'ideas' to which any positive interest attached was the third, since this concealed a potential clash between the European cosmopolitanism of a higher bureaucracy in which Baltic Germans traditionally played a dominant rôle and the rising Slavophil, and anti-German, patriotic movement which centred in Moscow.

The most illuminating part of Mr. Riasanovsky's book is contained in the three last short chapters in which he attempts to relate the official ideology to official policy. This helps to redress the one-sided emphasis of the earlier sections, where we have been presented with a picture of the all-powerful personal dictator imposing his will on a submissive society. Now we learn that Nicholas, confronted with a proposal to impose legal restrictions on the treatment of serfs by their owners, replied: 'I am, of course, autocratic and absolute, but I could never dare to take this step just as I could not dare to order landlords to make contracts'. But, having taken this fascinating peep behind the curtain, Mr. Riasanovsky hastily drops it again. Was the autocracy, in his view, the tool of a serf-owning society or, as he seems to imply

in another passage, a curb on it? We are not told. What we have is an admirable photograph, exact in every detail, of a rather dull surface. But photography makes disappointing history.

Trinity College, Cambridge

E. H. CARR

THE NEW CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY: VOL. X, THE ZENITH OF EUROPEAN POWER, 1830-70. Edited by J. P. T. Bury. Cambridge University Press. 1960. xxi + 766 pp. 40s.

When Lord Acton planned the old *Cambridge Modern History*, he set for it what were probably incompatible goals. On the one hand, it was to present history 'as each of the several parts is known to the man who knows it best'. But on the other, it was to embody Acton's conception of universal history, 'which is distinct from the combined history of all countries, and is not a burden on the memory, but an illumination of the soul'. In the massive work fashioned by the hands of something over a hundred contributors specialism clearly won out. Whatever its merits—and these, of course, were impressive—they were not those of Acton's universal history. The *History* was really a series of monographs of varying quality, many of which, in truth, imposed an excessive burden on the memory and offered only fleeting illumination to the soul.

No doubt much of the difficulty is inherent in co-operative history, especially where the division of labour is based on the chapter as the unit. The *New Cambridge Modern History* has not entirely avoided the hazards of the genre, but in the mid-nineteenth-century volume these have been held to a minimum. Although it would have been obvious, even without authors' names, that a number of contributors had been involved, there is a certain consistency in approach and treatment. One has the impression that, in some degree, authors are asking the same questions and analysing the action and interaction of parallel historical forces. This is not universal history, either in Acton's or in the more contemporary sense. Its base is solidly European—though this is not without justification for an era which can be accurately labelled 'The Zenith of European Power'—and, like all co-operative histories, it lacks the majestic sweep and the conceptual unity of the work of a single great historian. But admitting all this, the volume provides evidence that a collaborative history can be something more than a sequence of individual monographs and that a group of specialists can be harnessed into an effective and reasonably harmonious team.

Presumably, the excellence of the volume can be ascribed, in part, to Mr. Bury's skilful editing. Neither his organization (assuming that no drastically fresh approach to the century was contemplated) nor his choice of contributors could be readily improved upon. His introductory summary of 20 pages is no mechanical synopsis but an admirably original and thoughtful essay on the decades that saw European ascendancy at its height. Although the larger fraction of the book has to do with the fortunes of individual states and their relations with each other, nearly a dozen chapters at the beginning survey European culture and institutions. Such contributions as Professor Heaton's on economic change, Mr. Hall's on the scientific movement, Professor Pevsner's on art and architecture, and Professor Lewis's on European navies, to make an arbitrary selection, not only bring the reader abreast of recent scholarship in what to most historians are peripheral areas

but impress upon him the fact of a common European culture, however many and distinctive were the national and local variants.

Some of the broader European outlook is inevitably lacking in the latter half of the volume, where the focus shifts from the whole to the parts. But such contributions as Mr. Crawley's imaginative study of the Mediterranean region, Professor Humphreys' informative account of the confusing developments in Latin America, and Mr. Hudson's analysis of the Western impact on the Far East, all serve to recall the world hegemony of the European peoples. For Western and Central Europe the forty years form a natural unit, though broken decisively into equal parts by the revolutionary disturbances of 1848-9. These upheavals, reviewed by Professor Pouthas, gave to the 1850s and '60s a character markedly different from that of the two earlier decades. Even among the chapters on the political history of individual countries recurrent themes emerge, since in this relatively brief and, for the historian, manageable era, Europeans were subject to similar pressures and responded to similar influences. It is a commonplace to speak of the mid-century as the age of *Pax Britannica*, railway-building, bourgeois liberalism, and a robust, if sometimes uneasy, belief in progress. One need only recall the conventional (and slippery) tags of 'liberalism', 'nationalism', 'industrialism', 'laissez faire', and the rest to be reminded of issues that were common to much of the European world.

It is illuminating, for example, to follow the multiform and sometimes contradictory expressions of the spirit of nationality. It was in the 1830s, Mr. Bury notes in his chapter on 'Nationalities and Nationalism', that the words first took on special political significance, and by the '60s a French writer could note its 'prodigious success, although people did not know whence it came and perhaps because they did not know what it meant'. The triumphs and failures of this nationalist current, its unifying and divisive consequences, are ably traced by Messrs. Joll and Foot (Germany), Mr. Mack Smith (Italy), Mr. Macartney (the Austrian Empire), and Professor David Potter (United States). Professor Potter's lucid essay stresses the a-typical course run by nationalist forces across the Atlantic. In the United States, nationalism, supported by democratic values, swept to an early victory. But the triumph, though apparently complete, was premature. The nationalist advance presently fell foul of sectionalism, a counterforce so powerful as to set off what Mr. Liddell Hart terms 'the first large-scale war of the industrial age'.

Yet one must not read too much uniformity into the mid-century. It was, Mr. Bury stresses, an era of complexity and change, of tearing down and rebuilding, of 'infinite variety and richness of life [and] many worlds . . . juxtaposed, intermingled, and overlapping'. It is not the least of the achievements of the editor and his contributors that they are able to make the general and the particular work comfortably together, that they can view the extraordinary diversity of the age against its broader uniformities. In a word, to resort to a frayed but serviceable cliché of the profession, they allow neither the forest nor the trees to take over their mid-century landscape—or, more accurately, they know that the trees belong in the forest.

Harvard University

DAVID OWEN

PARTY POLITICS, volume ii, THE GROWTH OF PARTIES. By Sir Ivor Jennings.

Cambridge University Press. 1961. vii + 404 pp. 45s.

In *Parliament* and *Cabinet Government*, first published nearly a quarter of a century ago, Sir Ivor Jennings traced in masterful fashion the way in which the British system of government had developed in recent times. In his new trilogy, of which this is the second volume, he has turned his attention to the electoral system and party politics. The result, as was to be expected, is a standard work. But those who were brought up on the old Jennings will be disappointed. The style is not so crisp, the arrangement not so clear, and there are numerous small mistakes, particularly over names and initials. There is, moreover, some uncertainty as to what the book is about, and as to why it was written.

It is hard to escape the feeling that in this book Sir Ivor's method has let him down. This method, which is that of the lawyer rather than the historian, involves asking one apparently straightforward question: How did this or that institution come to be as it now is? For this question to be answered successfully from the printed sources to which Sir Ivor confines himself, two conditions must be present: (1) an adequate description of how the institution now works must be available, and (2) a sufficient number of memoirs and letters must have been published to show both how the institution worked at different times in the past, and how men and institutions reacted on one another. Sir Ivor's previous books were so successful because he knew a great deal about how the machinery of British government worked at the time he was writing (see for instance his account of the Treasury), and because Queen Victoria's letters alone would have provided him with adequate information about earlier periods. With political parties the position is very different. Sir Ivor is clearly not interested in party politics, and has never got inside them as he got inside cabinet government. His attitude is that of the detached Tory administrator, who thinks of parties as little more than useful devices for enabling the people to work off their surplus energy so that civil servants will not be unduly interrupted in their work: enthusiasm, ideas, popular participation in government, and party programmes mean little or nothing to him. He therefore starts with a very one-sided view of party. When he turns to party history, he is little better off. There are no standard histories of the Conservative or Liberal parties (Hearnshaw on the Conservatives is hopelessly inadequate; Lyon Blease, Hamilton Fyfe and others on the Liberals are out of date). Sir Ivor has therefore to rely on scattered references in biographies, and works on electoral history, such as Dr. Cresap Moore's unpublished Columbia thesis, *The Politics of Deference*, which do not pretend to give a history of party as distinct from party organization. It is not, therefore, surprising that Sir Ivor's narrative often becomes extremely thin by the standards of his previous volumes, or that there are frequent patches of journalese.

One example will suffice to show the weaknesses of the book: the description of events leading up to the general election of 1880 (p. 134).

'What the Bulgarian question was need not be explained; but Gladstone thought it a great moral question, involving the honour of England, which Disraeli's government was mishandling. He brought out all the brass of his fine orchestra in a great crescendo terminating, oddly enough, in his again becoming Prime Minister after the general election of 1880. He was, it will

be remembered, a private member in a party led by Hartington; but when the Queen, as in duty bound, sent for Hartington as leader of the victorious party, the latter politely refused to form a Government and advised the Queen to send for Gladstone. Like the College crew in Barry Pain's story, the Liberal party had been stroked by no. 7.'

Twelve pages later this brief account is supplemented by a reference to 'the energy, efficiency and even effrontery of Gladstone's Midlothian campaigns. Gladstone had succeeded in converting the Bulgarian question, which had now become a question of turning the Turks out of Europe, "bag and baggage", into a great moral question calculated to attract the Non-conformist vote.' This is not only unfair to Gladstone, and a grotesque account of the anti-Turkish agitation, which was already a powerful influence in the country before Gladstone took it up. It clearly implies that the Liberal party was primarily a parliamentary party, functioning, like twentieth-century parties, as a team (hence the Barry Pain reference), with a clearly-defined leader (Hartington). Yet Sir Ivor must know that the Liberal party was not a team in this sense, that Hartington was Liberal leader only in the Commons, and that in so far as there was a single party leader, it was Lord Granville in the Lords.

University of Manchester

H. J. HANHAM

ECONOMIC THOUGHT AND THE IRISH QUESTION, 1817-1870. By R. D.

Collison Black. Cambridge University Press. 1960. xiv + 299 pp. 37s. 6d. This study is an important addition to the history of economic policy-making as done by members of one society for the benefit of another. Its author seeks to understand how a group of conscientious thinkers dealt with real problems, when the thinkers had their origins in an alien context, out of which they had evolved a set of firmly held ideas synthesized into a compelling system. How was nineteenth-century Ireland, in tutelage to England, to be raised from the degradation into which she had sunk? How was she to be set upon the path of improvement and development?

In England, for all the difficulties of landlord and tenant, and in spite of the badness of conditions in the southern counties, agriculture and the countryside, when compared with Ireland, appeared in a quite favourable light. It was not surprising that in the pre-Famine period, it seemed reasonable, to many English economists, to seek to solve the problem of Irish agriculture by so altering the conditions under which farming was carried on that they approximated more or less to those of England. This meant placing it on a capitalist basis—getting rid of the horde of petty labourer-tenants, and replacing them with men of substance who would work new enlarged holdings. This, in turn, meant that dispossession on a very considerable scale was called for, throwing the former tenants on to the labour market. This would serve to restrain their propensity to increase their numbers: in adversity because it would check their feckless conduct, and, if and when conditions improved, by giving them a taste of higher incomes and thus teaching them the virtues of family restraint. But conditions had to be created so that capital would be forthcoming; the security of the tenant in the matter of his improvements had to be safeguarded.

This programme could hardly be carried through by landlords without at least some official backing. They already knew how strong the reaction

of the tenants and cottiers could be to eviction; indeed those who had moved in this direction were the most bitterly hated. But the trend toward minimal state intervention was running strong in England.

There were two modes of ameliorative assistance that the economists and politicians were prepared to consider. One was the extension of the English Poor Law to Ireland, so that at least this buffer, in the form of a compulsory tax upon landlords for the support of the poor, might be provided. But this was not a matter of general agreement among economists, especially those who stressed the abuses of the Poor Law in England. Secondly, there was the alternative of assisting emigration, so that the dispossessed might find a new livelihood abroad. But here too there were differences of opinion. Moreover a Poor Law plus emigration was no true solution.

The only hope of success for the classical economists' prescription for the rehabilitation of Irish agriculture was that a system of co-ordinated measures be planned and carried through. It was exactly this that was lacking. The will was simply not there to conduct so far-reaching an experiment in rehabilitation. But even if it had been, the difficulties were such that there could be no confidence of success. The Irish tenant-labourer was fiercely hostile to the suggestion that he should abandon his occupation of the land and depend wholly on what wages he might be able to earn; he believed in private property in land, but thought that he too possessed such rights, and that this should be recognized in the landlord-tenant relationship.

After the famine the economists' case for the introduction of capitalist agriculture, with much larger holdings, was now seen to be an impracticable solution. The alternative, of continuing on the basis of fairly small units, accompanied by a very considerable improvement in security of tenure, was gaining ground. John Stuart Mill, in spite of the Ricardianism in which he had been brought up, led the new movement. The happiness of the people of Ireland, and not the maximization of Irish prosperity, was the problem. But the two alternatives were not seen as mutually exclusive, for peasant proprietorships might well be provided by the acquisition of waste lands from their owners, and by reclamation, leaving much of the landlords' holdings undisturbed, but now capable of improvement as population pressure on them diminished. But the resistance in Parliament to encroachment upon the landlords' prerogatives was still very strong, so that effective action to give the tenant security of possession and compensation for his improvements was impossible.

Yet during the fifties things improved a great deal, as excessive population was drained away in emigration and as tillage increasingly gave way to pasture. But with bad harvests in the early sixties, trouble returned again. Once more the old questions of fixity of tenure and compensation for improvements arose. By this time Mill was strongly stressing the differences between English and Irish agriculture, and the consequent need for a difference in the laws affecting them. This distinction carried with it the idea that the right of property enjoyed by landlords in England could not be automatically judged appropriate to Ireland, but was to be regarded in wholly relative terms.

In effect, the only upshot of this lengthy debate was Gladstone's Act of 1870, making it possible for the tenant to claim damages for eviction according to a scale based on the rent. At long last it was recognized that the tenant

had rights in the land as well as the landlord. But such rights were much qualified. The problem of Irish agriculture, and therefore of the Irish economy, was in 1870 much as it had been in 1815.

The book goes deeply into both ideas and context, and is not for the hurried reader. The sources are very extensive; Dr. Black's bibliography is a monument to the chronic nature of the Irish problem. The argument is often detailed and lengthy, but this, too, reflects the true nature of the case. Students of the Irish question whose subject has taught them patience will take the elaboration of Irish affairs in their stride; they should stiffen themselves to assimilate the discussion of economic theory. Students of contemporary problems of economic growth would do well to take both Ireland and the classical economists as part of their apprenticeship.

University of Glasgow

S. G. CHECKLAND

VICTORIAN ORIGINS OF THE BRITISH WELFARE STATE. By David Roberts.

Yale University Press: O.U.P. 1960. xiii + 369 pp. 48s.

Between 1833 and 1854, as Dr. Roberts describes, a score of new Government departments were created, and extensive areas of social and economic activity—education, pauperism, crime, lunacy, public health, mines and factories, railways and shipping—came under the surveillance of a dozen different varieties of a new species of civil servant, the Inspector. The core of this book is an analysis, originally made for a Yale doctoral dissertation, of the background—the family connections, the education and professional training, the religious and political views—of the first recruits to the newly established inspectorates. Though Dr. Roberts has profitably widened the scope of his original study, the inspectors still in the main occupy his interest, and apart from the giants, Chadwick and Kay-Shuttleworth, he has little to say about their colleagues whose work was done at desks in Whitehall; George Coode and William Golden Lumley at Somerset House, Samuel March Phillipps at the Home Office, Tom Taylor at the General Board of Health, to take a few random examples of men in key departmental positions, do not gain a mention between them. His achievement is, in fact, somewhat more modest than his promise, 'to give a complete picture of all the departments'; and necessarily so, for this is the syllabus for a life work. The attempt has, nevertheless, much to commend it. Nowhere hitherto has it been possible to find so comprehensive an account of the establishment and early working of the new agencies of the central government; and nowhere has the inadequacy been so thoroughly demonstrated of the old and simple myth which equated Benthamism with *laissez-faire* and *laissez-faire* with the period lying between 1830 and 1870. Dr. Roberts provides, as his major contribution, a commentary on the character and outlook of the inspectors, perceptive and lucid, though a shade or two over-enthusiastic; not all the Assistant Poor Law Commissioners 'pursued their work with uncommon diligence', nor were they all models of tact and courtesy.

While there is much of value in the book, its impact is weakened by errors in detail, unnecessarily frequent and sometimes glaring. Kay-Shuttleworth was not a Scotsman; and neither he nor Chadwick, despite their nonconformist backgrounds, was a Dissenter. Thomas Stevens founded his college at Bradfield not Bradford, and, as a second son, he did not leave a comfortable estate to become a missionary of the new Poor Law. Richard Hall's successful

battles were won against Gilbert Act Unions not Local Act Incorporations. Names in particular seem to be the author's blind spot; some twenty slips in not uncommon names (including Shelley) have been noted, and it is astonishing that a University Press allowed so many errors of this kind to get by at the proof-reading stage. Mistakes in transcription from manuscripts are also not infrequent. Richard Earle was 'ingenuous' not 'ingenious'; Chadwick's correspondent in 1852 was Boardman not Branchman; and not even a Welsh farmer-Guardian would have said 'Bravo! my eye and belly Martin'. When so much of the book presents, in the form of general results, the distillation of a great mass of fragmentary and minute detail which must be taken on trust, the number of such detectable errors is disturbing.

The lists of inspectors in the Appendix are useful, but could have been made more so. Some names are incorrectly given. E. C. Tufnell, though figuring in the text, is omitted from the lists. It is surprising to see the entry 'no information' against the name of Lord Courtenay, later the fifteenth Earl of Devon; the Webbs confused him with Lord Ebrington, so Dr. Roberts is in good company here. D. G. G. Kerr's life of Sir Edmund Head appears to have been overlooked. A more serious general defect is the absence of dates, and especially of years of service. Transitory characters like Henry Pilkington, and Aneurin Owen, whose official life is measured in months, cannot be distinguished from men like Edward Gulson and Sir John Walsham who spent thirty or forty hard and not unfruitful years in the Service. It would have been well, perhaps, to warn the reader, lacking the aid of such guides, that the lists include only those inspectors who were appointed between 1833 and 1854.

University College of North Wales, Bangor

R. A. LEWIS

IN HARD TIMES (Columbia University Press: O.U.P. 1960. 403 pp. 42s.), by Herman Ausubel, is intended to throw light on all the reformers and reform movements in Britain in the last three decades of the nineteenth century. It is not clear, however, that the author has gone the right way about achieving this purpose. At an early stage he must have decided not to work at all on printed sources such as newspapers, parliamentary reports, or pamphlets, but to concentrate entirely on archival material. His choice of archives is to some extent dictated by the accident of his residence and travels, but the number of collections to which he has been able to refer is undoubtedly impressive, although some of them are limited in character and occasionally amount to little more than single letters preserved for the sake of the autograph. It is a great pity that Professor Ausubel has been more concerned to cite each of these sources, however insignificant, rather than to provide a systematic reassessment of his subject or at least a lucid narrative. Consequently the book, in spite of its apparatus of learning, tells us virtually nothing new about the period; and inevitably, it is very difficult to read as a connected whole. Some of it, indeed, seems rather misleading: for instance, the impression is conveyed of a continuous and uniform depression in late Victorian Britain, affecting all industrial enterprise as well as all agriculture. After the author's useful book of documents, *The Late Victorians*, the present work is a great disappointment.

The Queen's College, Oxford

HENRY PELLING

RATHBONES OF LIVERPOOL 1845-73. By Sheila Marriner. Liverpool University Press. 1961. xiii + 246 pp. 30s.

This study of one of Liverpool's leading merchant houses deals with only the relatively short part of its history for which its records have survived in great abundance. Fortunately, the period covered is that in which the business grew most rapidly and attained its greatest success and influence. The book is divided into three sections which deal respectively with the general character and expansion of Rathbones' business activities, with the organization of each of the major sections of their trade, and with their handling of foreign exchange problems and the deployment of their capital both in their own trade and ship-owning, and in the performance of merchant-banking services for others. The problems and practices have been elucidated with great skill from a voluminous correspondence. Perhaps, indeed, they have been made too clear, for it becomes rather hard to recall how many different things were going on simultaneously and being kept successfully under control. But that is the almost inevitable penalty when profuse documentation is translated into concise history. Rathbones' business was one that grew and prospered at this time by cautious diversification rather than specialization, and consequently its history has something to offer to students of varied interests. The opening of China to British trade, the changing character of United States export trade and the effect of the Civil War upon it, the growth of trade and shipping services between North and South America, the earlier career of William Lidderdale who later proved himself to be one of the ablest Governors of the Bank of England—all these are among the subjects bound up with the growth of the firm. Out of the diversity the Rathbones and their partners created not only unity but a prosperity great enough to enable some of them gradually to give business a much smaller place in their activities. How the prosperity was achieved is made evident in this highly competent addition to the valuable business histories that have come from Liverpool in recent years.

University of Bristol

W. ASHWORTH

THE WORKSHOP OF THE WORLD (Home University Library, Oxford University Press. 1961. 239 pp. 8s. 6d.) by Professor J. D. Chambers surveys the British economy between 1820 and 1880. It is the third volume in the Home University Library on British economic history and maintains the high standard set by the two previous studies of Sir George Clark and Professor Ashton. The author deals with the sixty years during which the British economy was well in advance of those of other countries. He covers the ground by examining a series of topics each of which covers the whole period—technical progress, transport, farming, overseas trade, fiscal policy, industrial organization, banking, trade fluctuations, population, urbanization and social questions. This method has the drawback that it fails to emphasize sufficiently the differences between the first half and the second half of the period. The first thirty years (to the Great Exhibition) were a time when industrial progress was overshadowed by grave social problems—the post-war depression, the Poor Law problem, and the agitations in favour of the Charter and Free Trade—while the second thirty years were a period of greater prosperity and greater stability. In studies of the industrial age the development of agriculture is sometimes neglected. But Professor Chambers's

chapter on agriculture and the Corn Laws represents the conclusions of a scholar who has paid particular attention to this aspect of economic history and it is a brilliant little essay. The book is unfortunately marred by a number of careless slips and misprints, particularly in the bibliography.

University of Manchester

W. O. HENDERSON

RUSSIAN CENTRAL ASIA 1867-1917; A STUDY IN COLONIAL RULE. By Richard A. Pierce. University of California Press: C.U.P. 1960. 359 pp. 56s.

There has been little of value published in languages other than Russian about the conquest and administration of Central Asia under the Tsarist regime since Schuyler and Curzon were writing on the spur of events three-quarters of a century ago. In filling this gap in Western historiography Mr. Pierce's contribution is a distinguished one. He has made full use of the contemporary Western observers and the copious official British publications of the golden age of blue books, but his Russian sources predominate as they should and his extremely valuable bibliography is a genuine index to his references.

The book has the virtues of a model report, rather than a narrative. It surveys the administrative, legal, economic and cultural aspects of Russian and native organization and their interrelation subject by subject, but the author's erudition allows him to give this survey a roughly chronological form with different problems predominating in turn. Incongruously the real conquest began with Gorchakov's premature and probably *bona fide* circular to the powers in 1864 announcing a final stabilization of the imperial frontier. Incongruously the Tsarist mission ends with the premature native insurrection of 1916 which the Soviet revolution was to make irrelevant. The record in between is not one of lethargy or neglect, at least at the top, although Mr. Pierce repeats with a new authority the familiar accusations of abuses and corruption throughout the government-general, the use of the territories as a dump for military ne'er-do-wells and the cross purposes between the military and civilian chains of command from St. Petersburg. Indeed he compares British policy in India more favourably in several respects than Curzon did at the time.

What did the Tsarist regime gain from the new dominion besides prestige in Asia from Constantinople to Peking and a presumed position of strength *vis-à-vis* Britain, whether as a potential enemy or ally? Mr. Pierce is not concerned with diplomatic or strategic issues but his book allows the answer that the major Russian interests served were peasant resettlement outside the oasis and desert heart of Turkestan and a progress towards self-sufficiency in cotton production, in that order. Both these were unbalancing factors which tended towards an eventual integration with Russia. Subsidized cotton production, filling eventually more than half the Empire's requirements, revolutionized agriculture in the oases and made them dependent on the arable lands of the steppe. Here Russian peasants were aiming to displace the pastoral nomads as part of a planned demographic revolution taking place at the same time in Siberia as well. By 1911 over a million and a half Russians had been established in the steppe regions of Central Asia and nearly half a million in Turkestan proper, the former in what is now Kazakhstan and the rest either as farmers in the modern Kirgiz-

tan or as urban workers in Tashkent and along the railway. The latter being largely expelled or refugee malcontents, they played a large part in the 1905 revolution. Perhaps in reaction to Soviet explanations, Mr. Pierce tends to emphasize racial and cultural antagonism when jealousy of the Russian agrarian invaders was the most obvious motive in spreading the 1916 rising once the labour draft to the Russian army—natives having been hitherto immune from conscription—had set it off and before the interracial atrocities began.

Mr. Pierce has not much to say about the part of the new dominions in Russian imperial policy and ideology or in comparing it with other colonial regimes. But his work, together with Mr. Raeff's recent study of the Siberian administrative system, provide what is needed to start off a new development in comparative colonial studies by the inclusion at last of Russian policy and experience.

Trinity College, Cambridge

J. M. K. VYVYAN

RUSSIAN FAR EASTERN POLICY 1881-1904. By A. Malozemoff. University of California Press: C.U.P. 1959. 358 pp. 37s. 6d.

This very well-documented study, by a Russian-born American who died in 1952, is based on material surveyed in a long 'Bibliographical Essay', especially on published Russian documents. It begins with a sketch of the Far Eastern territories of Russia in the two decades after 1860, stressing their backwardness, poverty, and lack of population. Korea was almost entirely neglected at this stage, and Japan treated with 'sympathy and friendship'. Intensified Russian interest in the Far East was signalized by the inauguration of the Trans-Siberian Railway in 1891; it was stimulated by an ideology of imperial expansion eastward which is interestingly described in Chapter 3. The *Vostochniki* or 'Easterners' found a powerful advocate in Witte, Finance Minister from 1892 to 1903, on whom the book throws a good deal of light. He did much to support and implement the fateful decision to carry the terminal section of the railway across northern Manchuria, as a short cut and as a means to the commercial exploitation of the region, and he indulged in a good deal of 'private diplomacy'. Bezobrazov, who helped to undermine his position, emerges as a sincere enthusiast for Russian expansion, and a man of some ability and experience, though wildly indiscreet and self-assertive. His much-trumpeted enterprises in the Yalu river area made in fact very little headway, and he himself lost all influence at St. Petersburg before the end of 1903.

There is much valuable detail as to Russia's attitude to the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-5, and to the Boxer Rebellion. Russia joined somewhat reluctantly in the collective foreign coercion of China in 1900, and the Russian press showed a degree of sympathy with Boxer patriotism. But meanwhile Russian troops were occupying Manchuria to protect the railway line; and the men at St. Petersburg, especially Witte and Kuropatkin the War Minister, then found it very hard to decide whether to withdraw them or not. All concerned intended Manchuria to become Russian sooner or later. But in the final negotiations of 1903-4 between them and the Japanese, the analysis on pp. 237-49 lends some weight to the view that Tokio rather than St. Petersburg was forcing the issue. Russia was willing virtually to let Japan take over Korea; Japan, strengthened by her new alliance with England, was

not prepared to recognize any similar Russian status in Manchuria. Russia, with a cumbrous governmental and diplomatic machine thrown out of gear by Witte's dismissal, was drifting towards war; Japan was gambling on war. *University of Edinburgh*

V. G. KIERNAN

EUROPEAN SOCIALISM: A HISTORY OF IDEAS AND MOVEMENTS. By Carl Landauer. University of California Press: Cambridge University Press. 1959. Two volumes. xviii + ix + 1894 pp. £8.

These two volumes in European Socialism invite comparison with G. D. H. Cole's four-volume *History of Socialist Thought*. Both authors acknowledge that it is impossible for any one man to write a comprehensive history of socialism, and so each restricts himself, but fortunately in somewhat different ways so that, while the two works undoubtedly overlap, they do not duplicate one another excessively. Whereas Cole sought to compass the world Professor Landauer has confined himself to the Continent of Europe (which excludes Britain), and indeed has concentrated very largely upon Germany and Russia and, to a lesser degree, France. Italy, Belgium and Scandinavia are included but are dealt with comparatively briefly. Secondly, whereas Cole was primarily interested in socialist thought, and dealt with socialist movements only in so far as necessary to explain the development in thought, or lack of it, Professor Landauer is as much interested in movements as in ideas, as is suggested by his sub-title. Indeed one criticism that can be made of Professor Landauer's otherwise quite excellent work is that he often becomes too engrossed in the events of the time. This is particularly true of the 1914-31 period, and especially of events in Germany during that period. This part of his work will interest the historian of Weimar Germany more than it will the historian of socialism. Cole dismisses the Weimar era as having made little or no contribution to socialist thought, and rightly so from his point of view. Professor Landauer chooses on the other hand to enter into a careful assessment of events, of the parts played by different leaders and by different sections of the German socialist movement, and of their reasons. He makes no claim to have consulted many primary sources but he has had first-hand experience and possesses a balanced judgement. Anyone who is interested in the socialist movement in the Weimar Republic, or indeed in the history of Weimar Republic generally, will profit from reading Professor Landauer's account. Here, as well as in his analysis of the 1890-1914 period, the actions of the reformists are in general justified but there is no apologia, in the style, for example, of Brecht's *'Prelude to Silence'*. A sympathetic but critical understanding is the keynote.

There is much else that is noteworthy. Professor Landauer is an economist and this is evident throughout, but especially in those parts where he is discussing the theory of socialism. He deals fairly fully with Marxist theories of value, prices, and production, both as originally formulated by Marx and as elaborated or commented upon later by a wide range of economic theorists. There are also good accounts of Italian Fascism and of French Syndicalism. In short, there is a variety of riches in these 1790 pages (of which 260 are taken up in notes, often as valuable and as revealing as the text itself: fortunately the index covers both text and notes). But alas the work as a whole is too wide ranging for the scholar who has some special interest, and at times too detailed for the student who has a general interest; and for both the cost

is likely to be prohibitive. For all these reasons it is eminently suitable for the library-shelf.

London School of Economics

S. K. PANTER-BRICK

LA RÉPUBLIQUE DE CLEMENCEAU. By Georges Wormser. Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1961. 522 pp. 16 NF.

Clemenceau has been ill served by historians. Although more than thirty-one years have passed since he died, there is still no standard life, no complete edition of his works—not even a selected edition—and no detailed study of the part he played in any one of the crises of the Third Republic. M. Georges Wormser's book fits into none of our English categories. It is not a biography, not an historical study, not an exposition of political ideas and not a reminiscence, though there is something of all four in it, especially the last two. The avowed object of the author is to trace Clemenceau's *doctrine*: 'Si je la place avant les événements, c'est qu'elle est vraiment la clef de son action.' What his doctrine comes to is faith in *la République*, but when that conception is examined through the fog of myth and rhetoric it is apt to vanish like the Cheshire Cat. Reminiscences are more tangible, but they do not begin until the time of the Great War when the author first came into daily contact with his subject, and do not get under way until November 1919 when he succeeded Georges Mandel as Clemenceau's chef de cabinet. The 30 pages devoted to the Presidential Election are M. Wormser's best chapter.

If the book is describable in one word, it is an *Apologia*. It takes us at an uneven pace through the public life of Clemenceau, defending him valiantly at each turning point, sometimes convincingly, sometimes not. For instance, M. Wormser successfully answers the charges brought against his hero in connection with Cornelius Hertz, but fails to meet the criticism raised against him as head of the Government of 1906–9. Where the book will be useful to the historian is in a great many hitherto unpublished letters and conversations and in the list of Clemenceau's newspaper articles in more than six pages of bibliography. But there are catches here: the bibliography omits all contributions to *La Justice*, *L'Aurore* and *L'Homme libre*, and some of the conversations reported are not credible—for instance, M. Wormser records 500 words *oratio recta* spoken to him by Clemenceau, apparently casually and not dictated for the record, on 5 June 1920. Finally, there are over 500 pages and no index! When will French readers insist on their publishers or authors providing an index for books of this sort?

J. HAMPDEN JACKSON

Dr. Bernard Semmel's **IMPERIALISM AND SOCIAL REFORM: ENGLISH SOCIAL-IMPERIAL THOUGHT, 1895–1914** (London: George Allen and Unwin. 1960. 283 pp. 28s.) is a study of the manifestation in Great Britain of what German and Austrian economists have termed 'Sozialimperialismus'. Dr. Semmel distinguishes between 'social-imperialism', which 'asserted that the welfare of the working class depended upon imperial strength', and 'imperial socialism', which 'emphasized the condition of the working classes as the basis of imperialism . . . and . . . suggested that it would be impossible to defend and maintain the empire without such a base'. Joseph Chamberlain

was, in the author's opinion, the leading exponent of the former view, the Liberal-Imperialists of the latter, while Alfred Milner and Halford Mackinder 'appear to have subscribed to both social-imperial equations'. The book consists principally of essays on various groups and individuals. Unfortunately, it is marred by an unpleasing prose style, by uncritical repetition of stale clichés and by factual errors. 'In 1832,' writes Dr. Semmel, 'the new middle classes had gained admittance into the governing class'. 'In 1867 . . . the British working man was finally enfranchised.' Dr. Semmel is also under the impression that Lloyd George was one of the leaders of the Liberal Party at the time of the Boer War, that Campbell-Bannerman 'protested against the war as a ramp for South African financiers' and that tariff reform was 'the leading political issue' at both the general elections of 1910.

King's College, London

CHRISTOPHER HOWARD

HALDANE OF CLOAN: HIS LIFE AND TIMES, 1856-1928. By Dudley Sommer.

London: Allen and Unwin. 1960. 448 pp. 42s.

More than twenty years ago the late Sir Frederick Maurice published a two-volume biography of the man whom Douglas Haig called 'the greatest Secretary of State for War England has ever had'. In the preface to his new life of Haldane Mr. Dudley Sommer acknowledges his debt to Maurice's work, from which he quotes frequently and at length. But Mr. Sommer is not content merely to quote. Numerous passages in his book consist, not of actual quotations, but of transcriptions, with minor alterations and with no acknowledgement, other than the general one in the preface, of the corresponding passages in his predecessor's two volumes. Thus, in *Haldane, 1856-1915* Maurice wrote (pp. 47-8): 'Haldane did not find himself in sympathy with the radical wing of the party, which he thought had an undue influence on the Liberal policy, and he was anxious that his group of political friends should make their weight more felt. He therefore tried to bring them together as a group under the leadership of Lord Rosebery . . .' Mr. Sommer writes (p. 76): ' . . . he [Haldane] found himself out of sympathy with the radical wing of the Party, which he thought had an undue influence on the Liberal policy, and he was anxious that his group of political friends should make their weight more felt. To this end he sought to secure the leadership of Lord Rosebery.' Again, Maurice wrote (pp. 231-2): 'In July Haldane went to Manchester for the inauguration of Lord Morley as Chancellor of the University. The Chancellor had for this occasion the nomination of three candidates for honorary doctorates, and the three Morley chose were Balfour, Curzon, and Haldane. Haldane welcomed these university honours, not only as a mark of appreciation for his public services, but because they gave him a standing in the universities which he could use to forward his Officers' Training Corps scheme.' Mr. Sommer's version reads (p. 217): 'In July he went to Manchester for the installation of his old friend Morley as Chancellor of the University. The Chancellor had for this occasion the nomination of three candidates for honorary doctorates, and he chose Balfour, Curzon, and Haldane. Haldane greatly valued these University honours, not only because they were a mark of appreciation of his public services, but they gave him a standing in the Universities which he could use to forward his Officers' Training Corps Scheme . . .' In his second volume, *Haldane, 1915-1928*, Maurice described an incident in the House of Lords (p. 24): 'On July 12,

1916, Haldane rose from his place on the front Opposition bench in the House of Lords to move a motion calling attention to the training of the nation and to the necessity of preparing for the future. As soon as he had done so the Duke of Buccleuch, white with emotion, sprang to his feet . . . Here is Mr. Sommer's account (p. 338): ' . . . on 12 July 1916, when Haldane rose from his place in the House of Lords to move a motion calling attention to the training of the nation and to the necessity of preparing for the future, the Duke of Buccleuch, white with emotion, sprang to his feet . . .' Pages 43, 46, 55, 65, 67, 75, 87, 89, 91, 159, 177, 179, 198, 209, 243, 253, 265 and 300 of Mr. Sommer's book reveal similar examples of his debt to Sir Frederick Maurice. It is all a trifle odd.

King's College, London

CHRISTOPHER HOWARD

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION. By Leonard Schapiro. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1960. xiv + 631 pp. 63s.

It is perhaps a presumption for a less expert reviewer to say that a book is very good, but this one surely is. The obvious periodization is observed. One hundred and fifty-eight pages cover the Party's formation and seizure of power, 200 take us on to 1928, and 185 to Stalin's death. A less satisfactory epilogue of 45 pages covers 1953-8; too little for the many changes that must be described. The promise of the title is strictly adhered to: the book is a history of the Party, not of the people, nor of the ideology, economic developments or foreign policy. In other words, it concentrates on the most important part of the subject. Nevertheless, 10 chapters out of 29 are 'stills', describing the Party's relations to these things and to the population during given periods. It is these chapters, also, that describe the Party's changing constitution and social composition; the rest are a straight history of inner-party struggle. Within the limits set by its title and professed purpose, a very fair balance is achieved. Mr. Schapiro's well-known aversion from ideology does not bar him from giving it its due. His lawyerly scruples about evidence do not blind him to the virtual certainty that Stalin murdered Kirov—the pons asinorum, this, of Kremlinology. For all its 631 pages, this is not a source or reference book: too much ground is covered, and not everything is documentarily proved. Again, it is too long as an introductory history text, and also wrongly balanced for that purpose. But it is the ideal history for teachers, for specialists in related fields, for the student taking U.S.S.R. as a special subject: indeed for anyone who really wants to know how and why things happened.

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P. J. D. WILES

DEFEATED LEADERS: THE POLITICAL FATE OF CAILLAUX, JOUVENEL, AND TARDIEU. By Rudolph Binion. Columbia University Press: O.U.P. 1960. 425 pp. 60s.

Joseph Caillaux, Henry de Jouvenel and André Tardieu were republican leaders of high ability who found themselves frustrated in the Third Republic. In this admirable work, Mr. Binion tells their three stories of failure, keeping one eye on their personalities and the other on the faults of the régime. Frequently the careers of the three men crossed; occasionally they clashed. Mr. Binion manages to avoid repetition without losing clarity. He handles complex details with great lucidity and conciseness. In spite of the blurb,

his sources are almost all in print; but he has ransacked them most thoroughly, mastered them completely, and assessed them with firm and sometimes devastating judgement. He has produced a shrewd, informative and eminently readable work of scholarship.

While he defends his subjects on the major charges brought against them, and makes a good case, he is by no means blind to their weaknesses and can be scathing (as well as entertaining) about their absurdities, especially Caillaux's. Occasionally, however, they escape censures which are visited on their opponents. For instance the Radicals are duly excoriated for opposing, because Tardieu put them forward, measures with which they agreed; when Tardieu himself does much the same, the comment is sympathetic.

The three leaders—and Mr. Binion seems to agree with them—brought against the Third Republic an indictment which was to remain familiar under the Fourth. The Cartel des Gauches was far from being the last coalition which 'was able to survive as a majority only as long as it did not have a policy'. When it broke up, in 1925, Frenchmen sought a miracle-worker to settle a financial crisis: 'the confidence shown him [Caillaux] was laziness disguised'. In 1958 they wanted another magician to deal with Algeria, where the regionalist solution recently proposed by Lacoste had received no warmer welcome than Jouvenel's identical answer to the Syrian problem thirty years before. The present prime minister, Michel Debré, reiterating Caillaux's grievance that 'the régime had transformed technical problems into political ones', was tempted like Jouvenel to see 'illegality . . . as the beneficent demon of history'.

In power, Debré has been able to introduce many of the reforms which Tardieu proposed. The diagnosis made by the author's heroes was to be taken up by a leader who shared most of their merits and lacked many of their faults. Unlike them, he won the chance to put their remedies into practice. Much as we may sympathize with his difficulties and admire his achievement, it is hard to assert that the treatment they prescribed shows any sign of curing the political ills for which they, like Mr. Binion, blamed 'the system'.

Nuffield College, Oxford

PHILIP M. WILLIAMS

IN SEARCH OF HUMANITY: THE ROLE OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT IN MODERN HISTORY (London: Cape. 1960. 254 pp. 32s.) by Alfred Cobban is best described by its sub-title. The author begins with a consideration of the outbreak of violence and cruelty that has marked the present century. Attempts have been made to explain this, but Professor Cobban argues that in the light of history what needs explaining is not violence and cruelty, even on a colossal scale, but rather the appearance of a civilization which condemned them. He traces the growth of a spirit of humanity to the Enlightenment of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and devotes a large part of the book to its analysis and history. The concluding section explains how, at the end of the eighteenth century, new forces, or old ones revived, set European civilization on a different course, the results of which were only to be seen in the present age.

A selection of letters written by the Duke of Wellington while on campaign has been made by Antony Brett-James and edited with notes and connecting

passages in WELLINGTON AT WAR 1794-1815 (London: Macmillan. 1961. xxxix + 338 pp. 42s.).

THE THEATRE OF THE LONDON FAIRS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (Cambridge University Press. 1960. 194 pp. 30s.) by Sybil Rosenfeld is a detailed compilation of material gathered from newspapers, playbills and other contemporary sources.

IN A HISTORY OF MODERN FRANCE, vol. 2: 1799-1945 (Penguin Books. 1961. 346 pp. 5s.), Alfred Cobban continues the story which volume 1, now reissued, had taken from 1715 to 1799. Up to the Commune of Paris the author writes his history on a scale similar to that of the first volume. The Third Republic, covering the eventful period from 1871 to 1945, is treated as an epilogue and dealt with more summarily in a hundred pages. This, though doubtless necessitated by conditions of publication, is a pity. It would be desirable if, in a subsequent edition, the final section could be dealt with on the same scale as the earlier ones, even if this involved expansion into a third volume.

St. Antony's Papers number 9, edited by David Footman, is devoted to INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM (London: Chatto and Windus. 1960. 151 pp. 18s.). In this volume Jane Degras writes on 'United front tactics in the Comintern 1921-1928', R. Lowenthal on 'The Bolshevikization of the Spartacus League', R. N. Carew Hunt on 'Willi Muenzenberg'—a specialist in organizing fellow travellers, Earl Browder, the former American Communist, on 'Communism in America', Guy Wint on 'Communism in India', and Wolfgang Leonhard on 'The Present Phase'.

THE AMERICAS

LAW AND AUTHORITY IN EARLY MASSACHUSETTS. A STUDY IN TRADITION AND DESIGN. By George Lee Haskins. The Macmillan Company, New York: London. 1960. xviii + 298 pp. 35s.

Professor Haskins has written what he describes as 'an introduction to the history of Massachusetts law in the colonial period' which covers only the first twenty years of the colony, 1630-50. As such, it is a very valuable contribution to the analysis and understanding of the most vigorous and fruitful of the English settlements, the first to bring something substantially novel with it, the Plymouth settlement notwithstanding; the first to react sharply and immediately to environmental conditions. Professor Haskins has tried to describe what was thought about law in the new society and what was done to create and administer it, rather than to theorize: he is thus able to steer effectively between the perils of 'americanism' (that all that was new and interesting stemmed from American experience), and 'anglicanism' (that everything done in the colony stemmed from English precedent). Much of the book is inevitably concerned with municipal law, which developed out of the necessary arrangements for local government, but it is interesting and important that projects for reforming English law

current in radical circles in England in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries here found some practical expression in experiment. The relationship of these experiments, in turn, to the movement for law reform which came into the open shortly after the meeting of the Long Parliament might prove a fruitful field for investigation.

The Massachusetts settlers arrived with some appreciable knowledge of English common and statute law and even with some experience in its practice (how many had been J.P.s?): they did not introduce English statute and common law *en bloc*; they could be and were selective, and built on what they knew and liked rather than on what they felt they ought to enforce. Moreover, they came with the Bible as their primary constitutional document so that the possible application of scriptural interpretation to the legal necessities of the colony took a large part in the discussion and debate on law and punishment in the first generation of the colony's life. But, just as there was no wholesale transference of English law, so there was no attempt to recreate a Jewish commonwealth. Scripture was plundered more systematically than the common law for precedent on the attitude and practice of the magistrate towards social morality, but again the borrowing was selective and largely empirical. A third stream was purely empirical; the finding of legal institutions, prohibitions and remedies to meet immediate practical needs. Out of these there began to emerge before the end of a single generation a legal framework and apparatus which was, as the sub-title well expresses it, the product of 'tradition and design', whereby something of a synthesis was created. Moreover, out of the background of a social covenant for religious ends emerged the assurance to the people of the colony of a basic body of liberties protected from the vagaries of governments and acting as a check on arbitrary power. The story is an interesting one and it is told by a lawyer who is a historian first of all, and who has made a stimulating, responsible and original contribution to the history of colonial society.

University of Liverpool

D. B. QUINN

INDIAN AFFAIRS IN COLONIAL NEW YORK: THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

By Allen W. Trelease. Cornell U.P.: O.U.P. xvi + 380 pp. 1960. 54s. This book joins Wilcomb E. Washburn, *The Governor and the Rebel* (1957), and Douglas E. Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk* (1958), as third authoritative study of White-Indian relations in the seventeenth-century English colonies which, between them, go some way, though by no means all the way, towards filling what was a significant gap in our knowledge and understanding. Unlike the others it is a study not of an episode but of a long period in a vital zone of contact, not only with the vulnerable Algonkians, who were virtually eliminated from the whole of the coastline before the end of the seventeenth century, but with the formidable Iroquois who were to survive early colonial pressures and to continue as significant elements even in the modern State of New York. Then too it is notable in another respect, as the first major study of its kind to combine documented history with up-to-date ethnological analysis. Colonial historians have hitherto failed in this region to take sufficient account of the ethnological approach, while ethnological studies have themselves been backward or at least uneven. Dr. William N. Fenton, in *American Indian and White Relations to 1830* (Chapel Hill, 1957), urged historians and ethnologists to develop a new degree of interdependence in

Indian studies and Dr. Trelease has taken him at his word and owes something to his own work on the Iroquois. It may be objected that his discussion of Indian society is kept too separate from his account of White-Indian relations and that the opportunity of integrating the two approaches in detail was not followed up, but there is no doubt that the ethnological material does much to make the historical treatment intelligible. The latter is very thoroughly done, using effectively both primary authorities and the extensive literature already in existence on the Iroquois-White relations.

The League of the Iroquois represented the most formidable indigenous grouping encountered by white traders and settlers north of Mexico. It is now thought—and Dr. Trelease endorses this view—that Iroquois pre-eminence in the seventeenth century was maintained largely by their control of a large share of the fur trade and by the accumulation of fire-arms which the sale of furs enabled them to make. The Dutch at Albany, to 1664, therefore had a key position in the relations of the three European interlopers, Dutch, French and English, with the Indians. The commercialism of the Dutch had much to do with arming and strengthening the Iroquois both against their western neighbours and against the French in Canada. Their non-political attitude was sharply altered when the English took over, finally, in 1674. Claiming, without any anterior right, that the territory of the Iroquois lay within their conquests from the Dutch, they involved themselves in attempts to bribe, coerce and manipulate the Indians against the French—the French responding in kind. The Iroquois proved, however, to be capable of playing off the white antagonists against one another. Their alliance with the English in the war which began in 1689 not serving their interests, they succeeded in 1701 in achieving a neutrality agreement which did much to preserve them as a political entity. Relations with the Algonkian Indians of southern New York took a more characteristic course. Friendly association with the Dutch and the sale to them of limited stretches of land gave place to the gradual attrition of their lands and independence by fraud and force, followed in turn by the inevitable round of plundering, reprisals, repression, subjugation and submergence. The story here is more novel than that of White-Iroquois relations. Dr. Trelease's narrative is clear and forthright and the books form a very useful addition to the literature on the colonial period.

University of Liverpool

D. B. QUINN

THE MAKING OF AN AMERICAN COMMUNITY: A CASE STUDY OF DEMOCRACY IN A FRONTIER COUNTY. Edited by Merle Curti. Stanford University Press: O.U.P. 1959. 483 pp. 6os.

It was inevitable that the spell cast by Frederick Jackson Turner over the writing of American history should lose its magic and that disenchanted historians should begin to question the truth of his beguiling but impressionistic assertions about the influence of the frontier of settlement in fostering American democracy. For the last twenty years a younger generation, many of them, in contrast with their Turnerian teachers, 'asphalt flowers' from the urban east, have been pursuing that favourite occupation of run-of-the-mill historians, 'revisionism'. Much of the debunking of the Turner thesis has been salutary and a permanent gain; but much has been mere counter-assertion, and the time has come both for a new inquiry into precisely what

Turner—as opposed to his more extravagant disciples—said and meant, and for a closer look at particular frontier communities. In *The Making of an American Community*, a team of historians from Turner's own University of Wisconsin, under the leadership of Professor Merle Curti, have presented the results of what they call 'a case study of democracy in a frontier county'. They have subjected Trempealeau County, Wisconsin, to a microscopic examination from its settlement in the 1850s to 1880. Making unparalleled use of a wealth of records, from the manuscript censuses to private letters, they have reconstructed in all its detail the developing life of that frontier community and, more important, they have done so in quantitative terms. The ably organised results make slow reading for anyone except a specialist; but the conclusions are of the greatest importance.

It is abundantly clear that on this frontier, at any rate, the ready accessibility of free, or almost free, land did, as Turner asserted, promote equality, did foster democratic habits of community action. Although from the beginnings of settlement there were marked disparities of property and income, over the decades it was the smaller property holders who made the greatest gains; although a nucleus of largely New England families exercised social and political leadership, later and poorer arrivals were by no means excluded; although non-English-speaking immigrants took time to become assimilated and there were tensions between the native-born and the British on the one hand and other immigrants on the other, the Norwegians quickly learned the habits of the New England town meeting and even the Poles, long thought to form the lowest social level, at least kept pace with average incomes. Most important, in the public affairs of the County, whether in the making of roads or the building of schools, one sees that spontaneous getting together of neighbours to promote their common ends without the help of external authority, which fostered those character traits of self-reliance and community loyalty so characteristic of American democracy. What the study does not show, because it stops in 1880 when the County was still in some sense a frontier, is what happens to the frontier community as it becomes more integrated to American society at large and as out-of-county influences in the shape of large corporations and aggregations of wealth impinge upon it. But there is no reason to suppose that habits and beliefs deriving from frontier conditions were not to persist.

St. John's College, Cambridge

F. THISTLETHWAITE

A GUIDE TO THE PRINCIPAL SOURCES FOR AMERICAN CIVILIZATION, 1800–1900, THE CITY OF NEW YORK: MANUSCRIPTS (Columbia University Press: O.U.P. 1960. xlix + 453 pp. 8os.), by Harry J. Carman and Arthur W. Thompson, is a valuable work of reference. It is a chronological continuation of the *Guide to the Principal Sources for Early American History* (1600–1800), compiled by Evarts B. Greene and Richard B. Morris (2nd edn., 1953). It brings together information which would otherwise have to be sought in scores of library catalogues and archive lists. By using abbreviations for these repositories the editors have been able to arrange the material under subjects, beginning with 'General and Political' history, sub-divided into periods and States, and continuing with special topics alphabetically classified from 'Architecture' to 'The Theatre'. Under the heading 'Foreign Relations' (pp. 215–26), for instance, one may quickly discover that 1200 manuscripts

of President James Monroe are in New York Public Library and that Columbia University has the papers of Frederick William Holls, a diplomat who served on many missions between 1890-1903 and was concerned with the Dreyfus case, the South African War, the Suez Canal and the International Spy System (whatever that was). Though the Index is of personal names only, the admirable arrangement of the Guide makes it a matter of minutes to find what original material exists in New York on all sorts of subjects within the dates covered. Leaving aside national institutions such as the Public Record Office and the British Museum, what a boon a similar Guide to sources for British history in London would be!

Institute of Historical Research, London

A. T. MILNE

WILSON: THE STRUGGLE FOR NEUTRALITY, 1914-1915. By Arthur S. Link. Princeton University Press: O.U.P. 1961. xiv + 736 pp. 80s.

In this third volume of his magisterial biography Professor Link is writing international as much as American history. Though he gives attention as reluctant as Wilson's own to the minor diplomatic crises in Mexico, the Caribbean and the Far East, his main theme is precisely indicated by his title. The confused and various American reactions to the outbreak of the war in Europe are analysed in a skilful opening chapter, but there was little doubt, and none in Wilson's mind, that neutrality was the proper course. Once neutrality was proclaimed, the desire to preserve it took on new force and shifted attention from the origin of the war to the technical issues of its conduct at sea. The old and complex problem of neutral rights was now complicated further because, in the nature of the case, American lives lost were by German action, while American property lost was increasingly by British action. The new element was, of course, the submarine, whose peculiarity as a weapon was its great power if it could strike without warning, and its great vulnerability to the most lightly armed merchant ship if it had to surface (even if the British were not using Q-boats, as on several discreditable occasions they did). Wilson and his advisers understood the German difficulty; they understood also that only German strength in submarines made a real neutrality possible—by contrast with Jefferson's and Madison's dilemma after Trafalgar—and that even this was dependent on the restraint of both belligerents. A quasi-legal problem like this shows Wilson at his best; yet there is ample evidence here that he never forgot the final determinant of American action—the consequences for the United States of victory by one side or the other. Wilson's weakness in negotiation, for which he has been so savagely attacked by Keynes and others, does not necessarily imply weakness in analysis. Wilson, the moralist, found it oddly hard to draw a moral distinction between the belligerents. We may yet come to agree that the American view of the war was more nearly correct than any other. Professor Link's book is persuasive.

Keble College, Oxford

A. E. CAMPBELL

Though less productive of violent, dramatic crises than the Stamp Act and other British measures, the vice-admiralty courts in the mainland colonies 'were a minor, but persistent, cause of the American Revolution'. Dr. C. Ubbelohde, in his scholarly study, THE VICE-ADMIRALTY COURTS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION (University of North Carolina Press: O.U.P. 1960.

xii + 242 pp. 48s.), tells the story of their activities and assesses the degree of truth in colonial complaints against them.

Professor Haines was familiar to students of American constitutional history as an ardent Jeffersonian, whose book on *The Role of the Supreme Court in American Government and Politics, 1789-1835* was a suggestive re-appraisal of the heyday of Marshallian pride and prejudice. His untimely death in 1944 left the successor volume extremely incomplete. What now appears—THE ROLE OF THE SUPREME COURT IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS, 1835-1864, by Charles Grove Haines and Foster H. Sherwood (University of California Press. 1957. 533 pp. \$7.50.)—not only covers a briefer span than was originally intended but also owes most of its present aspect to the pen of his pupil and colleague, Professor Sherwood. The resulting product lacks the indispensable virtue of clarity in the exposition of its often intricate subject-matter. While being accurate in points of detail, it seldom develops its arguments with much incisiveness or coherence.

MINNESOTA HISTORY: A GUIDE TO READING AND STUDY (University of Minnesota Press: O.U.P. 1960. x + 223 pp. 40s.), by Theodore C. Blegen and Theodore L. Nydahl, is an expansion of a volume issued in 1937 under the title *Minnesota, its History and People*. It is intended for students, including those of school age, and sets out a daunting array of topics for discussion, followed by numerous 'questions and suggestions' and lists of 'references'. The application of the same technique to English history would be an improvement on *Edwards's Notes*; instead of being supplied with stock answers to stock questions, the young people of Minnesota are directed to the books and articles which will give them the facts they require.

ASIA

A HISTORY OF MODERN JAPAN. By Richard Storry. London: Penguin Books. 1960. 287 pp. 4s.

Although the title describes accurately the emphasis of this book, it contains in fact a brief survey of Japanese history as a whole. The first three chapters comprise sketches respectively of Japanese history from earliest times to the sixteenth century; of contacts with the West, 1550-1650; and of Tokugawa Japan up to the new Western demands for treaties in the 1850s. Two more chapters, one of them very short, narrate Japan's response to the Western challenge in the second part of the century, including an account of modernization in its various forms. This leaves a little more than half the total space to be devoted to the years after 1900. From this point on, the amount of detail increases, more names are given, more events are dated and described. Treatment still has to be selective, of course. The dominant themes are politics and diplomacy—indeed, throughout the book there is rather less attention to economic matters than many would wish—but even so one gets the impression of an overcrowded canvas. The effect might have been avoided had the approach been less meticulously chronological: as it stands, there is more summary than analysis. All the same, within its self-imposed

limits the book is reliable and factual, deserving to be widely used. There are occasional misprints and brevity sometimes leads the author into generalizations that specialists might question, but this is inevitable in a work of this scale and will not greatly detract from its value as an introduction to the subject for the general reader.

School of Oriental and African Studies, London

W. G. BEASLEY

FORT WILLIAM – INDIA HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE: vol. i, PUBLIC SERIES, 1748–1756. Edited by K. K. Datta. National Archives of India, Delhi. 1958. xlix + 1153 pp.; vol. ix, PUBLIC SERIES, 1782–1785. Edited by B. A. Salatore. 1959. xlv + 708 pp.

The decline of the Mughal empire in the first half of the eighteenth century and the resultant anarchy enabled the French and English trading companies to intervene in Indian affairs. Their struggles for commercial and territorial supremacy ended in the victories of Clive by means of which the French were ousted from the Carnatic and the English East India Company became the *de facto* ruler of Bengal. The Maratha bid for paramountcy was temporarily checked by Ahmad Shah Durrani's victory at Panipat in 1761, the importance of which was that it enabled the British to consolidate their recent conquests in Bengal. The documents published by Professor K. K. Datta relate almost entirely to the economic history of Bengal and the trade of the English Company. They give no inkling as to what was happening elsewhere in India. Students requiring a more detailed account of Bengal during these years should consult the editor's authoritative study of *Aliverdi and his Times* (Calcutta, 1939). Many of these letters are not of sufficient importance to deserve publication *in extenso*. The volume could have been reduced to one half of its length by a judicious pruning of unnecessary detail. Once more we have to complain of the growing practice of relegating footnotes to ungetatable appendices. In his introduction the editor is inclined to doubt the authenticity of the incident known as the Black Hole of Calcutta. It is time for a scientific monograph on this subject.

The correspondence edited by Professor Salatore relates to the last three years of Warren Hastings' governor-generalship. So many monographs have been produced by experts on this much over-written period and so many bulky volumes of published documents are available to the student that it is not surprising that Professor Salatore's volume contains little that is new. In his well-written introduction the editor lays great stress on the benefits of British rule in India.

Balliol College, Oxford

C. COLLIN DAVIES

The title of Dr. B. B. Misra's *THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1773–1834* (with a foreword by C. H. Philips, Manchester University Press. 1959. xii + 476 pp. 45s.) is somewhat misleading since in fact his subject is the early constitutional and administrative development of the territories falling under the Bengal Presidency. One of his objects in writing the history of what he terms 'the central administration' in India is to supply a companion volume to Professor C. H. Philips' well-known book, *The East India Company, 1784–1834* (Manchester, 1940), which treats of the Company's activities in England during the same period. Dr. Misra has divided his work into seven main chapters dealing respectively

with the supreme government at Calcutta, the central secretariat, the administration of revenue, the settlement and collection of revenue, the administration of civil justice, the administration of criminal justice and police, the civil service; and he adds a lengthy appendix on postal communications. Despite its size and the amount of useful information it contains, the book is disappointing. It fails to drive the much needed highroad through the forbidding and difficult terrain of Indian administrative history.

This is a pity, for embedded in the huge mass of the Company's records, with their interminable minutes and dispatches and their outlandish Anglo-Indian terminology, is preserved the recorded experience of the greatest administrative problem that the British confronted in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Such an experience is not readily reduced to clarity and order. Dr. Misra has not made his task easier by allowing himself to be diverted to matters of minor importance and so reducing the space and emphasis which should properly be devoted to the landmarks of his subject. He might well have spared the appendix on postal communications for the sake of a deeper study of Cornwallis's work. One final regret is that as an Indian author he has not made a more sustained attempt to assess the British debt to Indian administrative practice. The fact that the East India Company found a developed administrative system already in existence, especially at the local level, was of the greatest historical importance. In the years after Plassey the Company did little more than seek to resuscitate this system, and long after the attempt was abandoned indigenous practice continued to exercise a powerful shaping influence, particularly in the most important branch of Indian administration, land revenue policy.

University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

ERIC STOKES

FORT WILLIAM – INDIA HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE, vol. xiii. Public Series. 1796–1800. By P. C. Gupta. Delhi: National Archives of India. 1959. xli + 594 pp. 37s.

The correspondence of the Court of Directors in London with the Government of Bengal published in this volume relates to the last two years of Shore's administration and the first three years of Wellesley's governor-generalship. There appears to be no logical reason why these years should have been selected. It would have been more useful if a trained historian like Dr. Gupta had been allowed to edit two volumes covering the Wellesley period. The real importance of this period lies in the political field, especially the struggle with the Marathas for paramountcy in the Indian peninsula. The correspondence printed in this volume is mainly concerned with more prosaic affairs such as the trade of the East India Company, the salt and opium monopolies, rates of exchange and other commercial details. Dr. Gupta is already well known for his scholarly work on *Baji Rao II and the East India Company, 1796–1811* (Oxford, 1939) which is based on an exhaustive examination of the manuscript sources and, what is rare in historians of this period, on manuscripts written in the Marathi language. The volume under consideration is more important for Dr. Gupta's scholarly introduction than for the letters it contains.

Balliol College, Oxford

C. COLLIN DAVIES

THE WHITE RAJAHS: A HISTORY OF SARAWAK FROM 1841 TO 1946.

By Steven Runciman. Cambridge University Press. 1960. xii + 320 pp.
27s. 6d.

The remote territory of British Borneo has a surprisingly substantial historical literature. Without recalling the solid Victorian accounts, within the last seven years there have been two monographs and a documented biography. Now, by one of those coincidences to which British publishing is so curiously prone, we are offered simultaneously two accounts of the Brooke dynasty: *The White Rajahs of Sarawak*, by Robert Payne, and the present volume. The name of Runciman is well known in South East Asia, but hitherto associated with shipping rather than with scholarship. It is with pleasurable anticipation that one opens this volume. What will the historian, whose graceful erudition has brought to life the expatriate society of Frankish Outremer, make of the saga of the English soldier of fortune who founded a little realm amid the winding rivers and steamy jungles of oceanic South East Asia? If, in the event, one is disappointed, this is because the Brookes were not transformed in their outlook by their exotic inheritance. They remained Victorian Englishmen. They never put down roots in Sarawak, and increasingly returned 'home' to the conventional life of the country squire. When the last Rajah voluntarily made over his kingdom to the Colonial Office the difference in systems of government and influence was marginal.

The frequent family squabbles of the Brookes, which occupy many pages, were dull rather than scandalous. The most interesting feature of the book is the light cast on nineteenth-century 'economic imperialism'. Once again, the reluctance of successive British governments to acquire new colonial territory, directly or indirectly, is amply demonstrated. The need of the Royal Navy in the early days of steam for a chain of coaling stations was one of the most potent arguments for new colonial outposts—often uneconomic and non-viable—as in this instance of Labuan. The cynical readiness of promoters in the City of London to do business by pushing annexations by foreign European Powers provides a commentary on the maxim that 'trade follows the flag' (any old flag). There are interesting footnotes to the Victorian period in general: on the activities of the Aborigines Protection Society, and of Baroness Burdett-Coutts (in how many enterprises was that vigorous lady involved?).

The European colonial scramble was over, as far as Borneo was concerned, by the end of the nineteenth century. The last portion of the book is an anti-climax: the small-change of colonial administration in the trough between evangelistic Imperialism and the rise of Nationalism. The general reader—the scholar in his armchair—might skip the last 40 pages without loss. But in the main body of this work he will find a 'case study' which provides almost a microcosm of European activity in Asia and Africa in the era from Palmerston to Chamberlain.

School of Oriental and African Studies, London

HUGH TINKER

A HISTORY OF INDIAN POLITICAL IDEAS, THE ANCIENT PERIOD AND THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION TO THE MIDDLE AGES, published by U. N. Ghoshal in 1923, revised and expanded in 1927, has now been again revised and extended to three times the previous length. (Bombay: Oxford University Press. 1959. xxiii + 589 pp. 52s. 6d.)

A TRUE AND EXACT DESCRIPTION OF THE . . . GREAT ISLAND OF CEYLON (*The Ceylon Historical Journal*, vol. viii, nos. 1-4. 1960. lxvi + 403 pp. Rs. 15) is part of a longer book dealing with the East Indies published by Phillipus Baldæus in 1672. It is a valuable source for the history of Ceylon and now appears in a new translation by Pieter Brohier, with an introduction by S. D. Saparamadu and many contemporary illustrations.

It is a pleasure to welcome the well produced edition, with an introduction by S. D. Saparamadu, of Robert Knox's celebrated **HISTORICAL RELATION OF CEYLON** (Colombo: being vol. vi of the *Ceylon Historical Journal*. 1958. cviii + 304 pp. Rs. 10). The text of the 1681 edition is reproduced faithfully, together with all its illustrations and map in facsimile.

A HISTORY OF INDIA FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY (London: Thames and Hudson. 1961. 444 pp. 45s.) by Michael Edwardes presents a lively outline, with attention to social as well as governmental history. Especially to be commended are the use of extracts from contemporary sources, 21 very clear maps, and 127 well-chosen plates. The production is of the high standard to which we have become accustomed from these publishers.

BRITAIN IN INDIA (O.U.P. 1960. x + 278 pp. 27s. 6d.) by R. P. Masani gives a useful and open-minded survey of British rule in the sub-continent. Particularly interesting are the author's views on partition and the colossal human tragedy which followed it. He pays a notable tribute to the efforts of Wavell to preserve that unity which might have been the greatest legacy of British rule.

GENERAL

Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt has put together in **THE FASHION AND FUTURE OF HISTORY** (Cleveland: Western Reserve University. 1960. 205 pp. \$5.50) a number of studies written at various times during the last fifty years, and added some retrospective comment. As we should expect, they are mainly devoted to the particular field of modern diplomatic history in which he has worked, and reveal his long standing conviction that what happens in Europe is necessarily of the greatest importance to the government and people of his own country. In this connection particular reference should perhaps be made to a study of Germany under William II, an account of some visits which he paid to European personalities who had been prominently associated with policy-making on the eve of the first world war and his examination of 'The War: Twenty Years After, 1914-1934'. The last study, a lecture delivered in 1934, is especially interesting because it dealt with the discussion about the responsibility for the first world war and for American participation in it when the possibility of a second war was becoming apparent. As it happens, he is in a position to illustrate changes of opinion on these matters during the inter-war years by reference to the fortunes of his own book on *The Coming of the War 1914*. He published this in 1930, two years,

that is, after S. B. Fay's comparable *Origins of the World War*; but whereas Fay had taken a lenient view of Germany's responsibility, Schmitt, on the other hand, laid the chief burden on Germany. However, such was the prevailing view in the United States by 1930, that he found his book was not taken seriously and the award to it of a Pulitzer Prize in 1931 positively caused an outcry in some quarters. This confirmed Schmitt's interest in the actual writing of history (had not he and Fay used much the same authorities?) and the way in which 'fashion', national interest or simply what was 'believed' at the time can affect it. He further illustrates this by reference to the consequences in his own country of C. A. Beard's *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* (1913) and the new type of history which appeared in the Soviet Union during the early thirties, partly, no doubt, as a result of contemporary changes in that country's external policy. In short, there is much in this collection of studies which will interest both the follower in Schmitt's own field and those who are interested in historical writing as such.

University of Sheffield

J. E. TYLER

A HISTORY OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL. By William C. Atkinson. London: Penguin Books. 1960. 382 pp. 6s.

This latest volume in the Pelican History of the World is a clear, careful and readable account. It has to cover a vast amount of ground, and it is natural that in these circumstances Professor Atkinson chooses to give us what is essentially, despite pauses for reflection and comment, a narrative history. His choice raises two questions. First, can a narrative on this scale be made to hold together? And secondly, is this the most profitable approach for English scholars and readers? The temptations to concentrate on narrative were obviously strong. But the truth is that the history of Spain and Portugal, even if one excludes the empires, is so large a theme that a narrative within the limits of a Pelican must be extraordinarily skimpy. Moreover in a large country, with great provincial diversity, there are far fewer of those threads of social and institutional evolution that lend continuity to the history of, say, England. It is hard for a Spaniard to take a whig view of history.

Yet for the historian of Spain there are great themes of permanent fascination. First amongst these perhaps is the Reconquest, and the whole question of the relation of Christian and Muslim societies in the peninsula. For the earliest period, when the lead within the Christian kingdoms had not yet passed to Castile, the linguistic evidence is particularly valuable and Mr. Atkinson's comments on the changing speech of Leon and Castile are most welcome. For the Reconquest in general literary sources have also much to tell us; and it is disappointing that, following the habit so prevalent amongst historians and so rightly condemned in them, he should have kept literary and historical matters apart. The *Poem of the Cid* is separated from the *reconquista*, as in later sections *Don Quixote* is from the Castilian crisis of the sixteenth century, and the Catalan renaissance from the political upheavals of the nineteenth.

It is especially through the study of social and economic history that we shall obtain new light on the modern period in Spanish history. We still know too little of the structure of Spanish society, especially in the provinces and away from the Court; but historians are beginning to uncover the social and fiscal nexus that bound together the communities of Spain—or drove

them apart. Two examples will illustrate the new approach. The first is the treatment of the attempted absorption of the Moriscoes, which led to rebellion in 1568 and ended in expulsion in 1609. The conflict is usually explained in politico-religious terms; but it has now been shown that governmental interference in the industry of Granada and disruption of Morisco social life were prime causes of the revolt. The second case is that of the regional uprisings of 1640. We can now see that the crisis of provincial society, economic collapse, and the refusal of Madrid to provide that recognition of local gentry which would certainly have ensured a strong 'loyalist' party, were the deepest causes of rebellion: not the defence of or attack upon 'constitutional rights'. In the past twenty years nothing less than a renaissance of historical studies has taken place in Spain, led by scholars such as Ramon Carande, with his study of the finances of Charles V, and Jaime Vicens Vives, whose recent and too early death is much to be lamented. But foreign students are also contributing to it. Both the 'historical revisions' noted above are the work of young English scholars, and a host of researchers from all over Europe are following in the steps of Fernand Braudel and the Chaunus. Little of this, to be frank, is reflected in Professor Atkinson's book, but many will gain from its clear outline narrative their first introduction to Spanish history.

J. A. ROBSON

A CHURCH HISTORY OF SCOTLAND. By J. H. S. Burleigh. Oxford University Press. 1960. x + 456 pp. 42s.

Principal Burleigh's occupancy of the moderatorial chair of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland during this fourth centenary year of the Reformation gives his book a semi-official stamp, comparable, say, to that which attaches to Calderwood's work in the seventeenth century; and, amidst the various specialist studies of scholars ranging from the Free Churchman to the Episcopalian, it is good to have 'the voice of the Establishment' (in an old native sense). A modern reappraisal of the subject on the full scale has long been due, for the twentieth century, while producing many monographs and surveys of particular periods, has fallen far short of the nineteenth in this respect: no Cunningham or Grub, no Hetherington or Story, has tackled this once favourite field in the grand manner.

Professedly addressed to the general reader, Principal Burleigh's book has merits to appeal to the student of history—wide vision, broad sympathies, genuine tolerance of opposing views, judgements that are informed by Christian charity and humane understanding: the partisan rancour of earlier writers is wholly absent from his urbane and civilized pages. From the missionary endeavours of Ninian and Columba on to the Ecumenical movement and 'the Bishops' report', he proceeds on his road with measured step and unruffled deliberation. If he does not quite succeed (as an ecclesiastical historian should) in the difficult task of relegating to a secondary place the purely political developments of the crucial period from 1560 to 1690, and thus leaving himself enough space for a really full discussion of modern 'revisionist' theories on such matters as the element of continuity between the Reformed kirk and the old order, the office of superintendent, the provenance of the Prayer Book of 1637, or the qualities and prospects of the restored episcopacy after 1660, and if the treatment of recent times (since 1900) is

disappointingly sketchy, the author atones by his masterly and lucid survey of the issues and the conflicts that occurred between these two epochs. He is at his illuminating best on the rise of Presbyterian dissent, the 'reign' of the Moderates, the resurgence of Evangelicalism, and the causes and consequences of the Disruption.

As is inevitable in a work of such ambitious scope, the author is vulnerable to criticism on some points of detail. His half-dozen dating errors need not be stressed, but a few more serious lapses should be noticed. His account of the mendicant orders makes no mention of either Carmelites or Trinitarians. His assertion that the provincial council played no part in national affairs during the War of Independence reads strangely in the light of what we know about the meeting at Dundee early in Robert I's reign. The 'constitutional' problem involved in the attendance of the many lairds at the Reformation Parliament is incorrectly stated. Again, the thesis that the Evangelicals (with the 'brilliant exception' of Chalmers) were 'commonly reproached for their neglect of learning' surely misses the point: any such reproach related to the eighteenth century, and was not advanced in, and could not be sustained for, say, the 1830s. It is odd indeed to find no reference whatsoever, at any stage, to the sore but vital topic of the minimum stipend, and only a few passing allusions to the Episcopalians and Roman Catholics in the last 200 years, while the author might have noted the return of the United Original Seceders to the establishment in 1956. Finally, of the appendices, the bibliography is 'select' to the point of inadequacy; the table of kings of Scots shows Robert II as the husband, instead of the son, of Marjory Bruce; and the chart of divisions and reunions omits the union of 1827.

All this amounts to no more than affirming that Principal Burleigh's book, like most others, has its flaws and its gaps; it does not impugn the claim that can be justly made by the author, that he has presented the thoughtful reader of today with a sound and reliable outline of the entire course of Scottish ecclesiastical history.

University of Glasgow

GEORGE S. PRYDE

LA PENSÉE MILITAIRE FRANÇAISE. By Eugène Carrias. Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1960. 378 pp. 25 NF.

The study of intellectual currents in a realm concerned more with action than with speculation presents unusually great difficulties to the historian. Colonel Carrias, the author of this new history of military thought in France, has been aware of the paramount need to throw equal light on the abstract and the concrete, on the work of the theorist and of the quartermaster, and the relationships between them. 'The course of wars', he writes in his introduction, 'cannot be fully understood if we neglect the ideas men form on the nature of wars, on their aims, and on the manner of waging them . . .', while, on the other hand, 'thought has practical significance only through the concrete applications it stimulates, and by their results'. It is the more to be regretted that a writer who sees the problem in all its complexity has come up with such a disappointing solution.

The volume is divided into three parts. The first and shortest section covers the period from the Xth century to Louis XI; the second runs from Charles VIII to 1788; the third, from the French Revolution to the present. It may be inevitable that such a programme, squeezed into 350 pages, results in little

more than a sequence of names, brief quotations, and dates, strung together by generalizations. And yet, how much more might have been accomplished in even such little space if the author had kept more strictly to his subject. For example, of the seventeen pages on *La doctrine révolutionnaire* nearly six are devoted to a potted history of the decade from 1788 to 1798, in which the army figures to no greater extent than it would in any general account. Biographical notes, adding little or nothing to information available from any dictionary, take up further space, and the remaining pages can do hardly more than touch on some main topics of what was one of the decisive periods in French military affairs. That particularly influential development of the age, the evolution of the skirmisher and his co-ordination with the attack-column, is mentioned only obliquely. No space is left for nuances of judgement, and it might have been better if interpretation had been eschewed entirely. What, for instance, is the reader to make off the following paragraph, quoted here in its entirety: 'The army had not been disorganized by the emigration of noble officers, which shows the small importance of the services rendered by them.'

In some chapters the author's selection of sources may also be queried. Throughout Colonel Carriès has taken pains to consult contemporary documents; the range of his later authorities is however often less satisfactory. For an example we might return to the discussion of the French Revolution, which repeatedly draws on the romantic, and by now considerably out-dated, accounts of Camille Rousset and Arthur Chuquet, while wholly ignoring the operational analyses of Colin, the sociological investigations of Daniel Guérin, and Emile Léonard's remarkable attempt at synthesis, to name only three authors whose contributions would seem too important to overlook. This unevenness disappears in the chapters dealing with the period since 1871. The lengthy discussion of the years between the foundation of the Third Republic and the First World War is by far the strongest in the book.

There remains the question of the purpose for which this work was written. A newcomer to French military history may perhaps find it a convenient introduction; but as a reference volume it is too incomplete, as an analysis of the rich intellectual heritage of the French soldier, too superficial.

Center of International Studies, Princeton University

PETER PARET

QUAKER WAYS IN FOREIGN POLICY (Toronto University Press: O.U.P. 1960. xxi + 230 pp. 40s.) by Robert O. Byrd begins with a general study of the Quaker attitude in religion and politics before going on to deal more particularly with its main theme. According to the author, Quaker 'intervention' became progressively greater from the beginning of the nineteenth century and especially since about 1850. Attaching itself to no single Power or group of Powers, the Society of Friends has striven consistently to apply its own tests as to what is good or bad in any given situation. Nor has it simply confined itself to comment or exhortation, but has increasingly sought to 'participate' by positive action; not only as everyone knows through invaluable works of relief and reconstruction, but also, as Dr. Byrd puts it, by facing 'the social, economic and political problems inherent in Christianizing foreign policy'. He is fully aware, too, of the criticism to which the Quaker attitude has been subject; by those, for instance, who while deprecating the use of force, believe that ultimately it may be necessary since, after all, power

may be the servant of justice. But he would have been more convincing in handling such criticism if he had dealt more thoroughly with specific crises which either threatened or actually led to war. Indeed those who study and teach modern history would have found this book more useful as a whole if it had provided a more systematic account of successive instances of Quaker intervention in world politics, together with some candid assessment of success or failure. As it is, the reader has to undertake these tasks himself. However, he is certainly provided with much information and can take advantage of the lengthy bibliographical note. He may well, too, be stimulated by a relatively unfamiliar approach to some well-worn themes.

University of Sheffield

J. E. TYLER

B. H. St. J. O'Neil's *CASTLES AND CANNON: A STUDY OF EARLY ARTILLERY FORTIFICATIONS IN ENGLAND* (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1960. xix + 121 pp. 30s.) is based upon the Rhind Lectures in Archaeology given at Edinburgh in 1946, and has been seen through the press and published since the death of the late Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments in 1954. The book has an explanatory Preface by the present Chief Inspector, Mr. A. J. Taylor; an Introduction on the development of gunpowder and cannon—along the lines which O'Neil had intended—by Professor P. E. Russell; and is well and fully illustrated by plates and figures, properly placed in the text. The first two chapters are principally concerned with the effects of the introduction of cannon upon English military architecture in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and their chief value is in the presentation of a dated sequence for the development of gunports. That gunports were the effect of cannon upon medieval military architecture is a reminder that the new weapons were used as much for defending as for attacking castles, as were the older stone-throwing 'engines' (which, continuing in use long after the introduction of cannon, find insufficient mention in this book—as do the highly successful techniques of pre-gunpowder mining). The last three chapters, two-thirds of the book and covering the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are the best part, and the chapter on Henry VIII best of all. This was the author's favourite field, and it shows. Oddly enough, however, in the detailed and valuable account of the state-directed defence measures of the 1540's, the exposition of the development of gunports themselves becomes—doubtless in the general press of events—somewhat less precise, while the distinction between these Tudor coastal forts and medieval castles is scarcely touched upon. The Elizabethan chapter deals especially with the fortifications of Berwick, and the seventeenth-century chapter has much of interest both upon contemporary theories of fortification and upon the hasty defences in fact thrown up in the English Civil War. At this point also the author very properly comments that 'although fire-arms, cannons and muskets were freely used . . . their effectiveness in actual practice was less than might have been expected three centuries after their introduction into warfare', and goes on to cite the successful defence of ancient castles, and also houses, against mid-seventeenth-century cannon. The reader would probably be advised to bear these sound remarks in mind when reading the earlier chapters also, with their perhaps over-enthusiastic assessment of the crucial importance of 'villainous salt petre' in the later Middle Ages. The truth was that cannon, then at least, were not so important as they sounded.

The earlier part of the book especially is marred by lack of familiarity with unprinted sources. Thus the records relating to Queenborough Castle (1361-75) are anything but 'meagre', and in consequence several of the author's statements about it stand in need of revision (including its attribution to Henry Yevele). Nor are the records of the building of Richard II's new cylindrical tower with its encircling stone mantlet on the motte at Southampton (1378-88) so very 'meagre' either, and it is curious that Richard Tredyngton, whom the king retained there in the disparate roles of chaplain and 'expert in guns and the management of artillery', does not get a mention.¹ Again, the accounts of Richard II's works at Carisbrooke Castle show that the gatehouse was heightened in 1380-3,² and not a century later as is commonly supposed—and hence the mystery of the gunports in its upper stages, which O'Neil would clearly have liked to assign to the fourteenth century but could not. One last, and general, point remains. It is a merit of this book that it attempts to relate both architecture and guns to the history of the times: yet those who will read and use it are likely to require either less or more than the summaries from sometimes obsolescent textbooks within which the author has set his specialist knowledge.

King's College, London

R. ALLEN BROWN

The study of English vernacular architecture began in 1898 with the publication of S. O. Addy's *Evolution of the English House* in the 'Social England Series' which included Vinogradoff's *English Manor*. Though long outmoded, Addy's book has remained the only serious general work on a subject that during the last twenty years has attracted the attention of archæologists like Sir Cyril Fox, economic historians like Dr. Hoskins, and historically-minded architects like Professor Cordingley. To supersede Addy was therefore not difficult: but to produce an authoritative work that would do justice to its subject demanded an author who was at once architect, archæologist and historian. All three capacities are united in the person of Mr. M. W. Barley, and his book THE ENGLISH FARMHOUSE AND COTTAGE (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1961. xxi + 297 pp. 55s.) will for long remain the standard work on its subject. Its object, like Addy's, is 'to describe the houses of the majority of the rural population of England, particularly in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries'. But whereas Addy took most of his examples from his own Derbyshire countryside, Mr. Barley ranges over the whole of England, comparing Highland Zone with Lowland, arable Suffolk with pastoral Cumberland, wooded Kent with limestone Northamptonshire. The great merit of his book lies, indeed, in its attempt to relate the history of farmhouse and cottage to social and economic conditions. In doing so he has made good use of the probate inventories which alone can tell us the varying functions of those halls and parlours, outshots and chambers of which the rural habitation of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was composed. No attempt can be made here to summarize his conclusions. But whether he is accounting for a regional increase in service-rooms, examining what Hudson Turner called a 'water-drain' and pronouncing it to be a urinal, or assessing the significance of new forms of window-mouldings, Mr. Barley maintains a shrewd common sense that compares favourably with the sentimental

¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls* 1385-9, p. 196.

² P.R.O. E101/491/4.

antiquarianism of so much that has been written about old houses, and is perhaps nearer to historical understanding even than Dr. Hoskins' nostalgic sympathy for England's long-lost peasantry. Not that Mr. Barley has all the answers. He still cannot tell us exactly for whom the Kentish hall-house was built, nor whether Cotswold farmers lived in stone or timber houses before the sixteenth century. But it is a poor book that stimulates no questions, and this is one that not only effectively supersedes its superannuated predecessor, but points the way to further investigation in village and archive alike.

St. John's College, Oxford

H. M. COLVIN

THE VICTORIA HISTORY OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND: CAMBRIDGESHIRE, Vol. III. Edited by J. P. C. Roach. Published for the Institute of Historical Research by the Oxford University Press. 1959. xx + 504 pp. £7 7s.

This, the fourth volume of the Cambridgeshire V. C. H. to appear (vol. IV preceded it in 1953) is devoted to Cambridge itself. It was begun in 1935 but most of it has been done since the war; and this is fortunate, as the publication of a volume on the buildings of Cambridge by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments has relieved this volume of a good deal of architectural description and enabled it 'to portray the life of the City and the University rather than the buildings'. The separate treatment of city and university is inevitable and the proportions—150 pages on the city to 350 on the university—are approximately right in a volume dealing with the past. The town (city since 1951) has been fortunate in its historians and continues to be so in this volume with Helen Cam. On the other side, the histories of individual colleges by various hands vary in value, but there is a skilfully constructed and extremely interesting general article on the university by Dr. Roach. The town is older than the university and has always had, in its position at once on a ridgeway and a river-way through the Fen Country, the elements of an independent life. Whatever indignities it had to bear at the hands of the university, it never lost this personality. We get a somewhat blurred impression of it, however, through having to turn to another volume for parts of the town's economic history. Miss Cam might with advantage have been allowed more than fifteen pages for this section. A more rounded treatment would also have enabled us to see certain topics in the other sections in the round: for instance, the Mortlock dictatorship in the last period of the unreformed borough. We should like, if possible, an account of John Mortlock's economic as well as his constitutional and political activities. This is a handsome volume, interestingly as well as splendidly illustrated.

University of Southampton

H. ROTHWELL

Raymond Aron's *INTRODUCTION TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 1961. 351 pp. 42s.) is a translation of a work published in French in 1938 and revised in 1948. As philosophy it has perhaps not worn very well and the analysis is hardly as lucid as the 'blurb' claims. The most valuable sections today are probably those where the author discusses the relations between history and sociology.

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